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THE significance and the probable consequences of the German retirement from the Marne have become increasingly clear during the past week. The retirement is the result of a deliberate choice by the German High Command. It could have elected to fight on in the Marne salient and it could doubtless have prevented the Allied army from recovering anything like as much territory as it has actually occupied. But by adopting such a strategy it would have been obliged heavily to reenforce the Crown Prince's army, to weaken some other part of its line and to do so for the sake of what would be, at best, negative results. It preferred, consequently, to retire, and the retirement is being carried out with a minimum of loss. Doubtless the German Staff expects as a consequence of so husbanding its resources to resume the attack under more favorable conditions on some other part of the line, but after the defeat of their attempt to squeeze out the Reims salient and to penetrate beyond the Marne, it does not look as if any further offensive could be made really dangerous. The British army has been reenforced and

has had abundant time to prepare both for attack and counter-attack. It is a more dangerous army to deal with than it was last March and April, and the same is true of the French army with its American auxiliaries. It is wholly improbable that the German Staff will be able to put its residue of offensive power to any effective use. The retirement from the Marne salient is none the less decisive because it has been a matter of deliberate choice and it is being carried through without excessive loss. The Germans, even if they keep the initiative, cannot turn it to any better account than the French and British did in 1917. It would look as if they may soon be obliged once again to accept a defensive strategy, fortify the strongest line which they can lay out and defy the Allied army to disposses them. Their colossal effort to obtain a decision on which the prestige of the ruling class in Germany rests would have failed.

IT is as certain as anything can be in the necessarily uncertain game of politics that the result of a German defensive strategy will be disintegration both in Germany and among her Allies. As we have frequently pointed out, the offensive, undertaken expressly for the purpose of compelling the western powers to accept the annexationist eastern treaties, was in its domestic political significance a coup d'état. It meant a triumph for the military parties in the fight between it and the liberal forces in Germany which had been going on throughout 1917. The German liberals have not hesitated frankly to draw this conclusion. They have been demanding through such papers as the Frankfurter Zeitung either the frank assumption of political authority in Germany by the Supreme Army Command or else an equally frank and complete resumption of control by politicians. The falling back on defensive military strategy in the west would necessarily involve the second of these alternatives, and the politicians who would come into power would be men anxious to obtain a peace by understanding and ready to sacrifice a great deal for such a peace.

Assuming that the German army either loses the initiative this fall or else fails to obtain any further advantage from it, we may confidently expect during the coming autumn two political consequences. First, von Hertling will retire and be succeeded by some Chancellor pledged to keep the confidence of the Reichstag majority. Secondly, in the parleys which will take place Germany will be ready to offer unexpectedly large concessions in the expectation either of obtaining peace or dividing her enemies.

WHATEVER the effect in Germany of the collapse of the General Staff's effort to obtain a military decision, its effect in Austria, Bulgaria and Turkey will be even more immediately dangerous. The recent rumor that Turkey is ready to withdraw from the German alliance is probably false, for the Allies cannot bring about a just peace without dismembering Turkey to an extent which the ruling class in Turkey would resist as long as they could, but the probability is that their power of resistance is almost exhausted. Turkey in 1914 was even a lower economic organism than Russia. After the racking military tuberculosis of the last four years she must be no less completely enervated and burned out. She will soon either hang lifeless, a bloodless limb from a still comparatively sound trunk or she will succumb to the slightest pressure. It seems to us clear that such pressure should be applied just as soon as the Allies are capable of resuming the offensive. For reasons presented more in detail elsewhere, Germany can be beaten at the smallest possible expense by attacks on her flanks and her communications. An attack somewhere in the near east would take advantage of the weakness of her flank. A sufficiently strong airplane attack from the western front would disorganize her system of communications. These avenues of attack would be dictated by a sound political strategy as well as by a sound military strategy. For if the Slavs are to be emancipated from German domination, something must be done to diminish German military prestige in the near east.

GERMANY is clearly finding increasing difficulty in retaining Turkey and Bulgaria in her alliance. The recent territorial adjustments have only intensified this mutual antagonism. It is obvious that the retention of European Turkey not merely does not mean anything to Bulgaria, but is actually opposed to her best interests. She has no sympathy with German ambitions except as these contribute to her own advancement; and where they are built upon the retention of the ante-bellum status of Turkey she must actively hinder their realization. Something of this under-

standing has clearly filtered down to the Turkish mind. It is apparent in the recent change of ministry in Bulgaria. It derives importance from the general sense of uneasiness that hangs over the Balkan front. Nothing would, diplomatically, prove of greater value than a careful attention in the next few months to the relation of Bulgaria to the other Balkan peoples. The creation of Jugo-Slavia, at least in ideal, is a considerable assistance to this end. Entente diplomacy has suffered serious attacks in the near east since the beginning of the war; but it looks as though the fates were anxious to provide the opportunity of compensation.

THE publication in the New York Times of Lenin's recent speech to the Executive Committee of the Soviets is decisive evidence, if such be necessary, that no reconciliation between Russia and Germany is even thinkable. The treaty of Brest-Litovsk is tossed contemptuously aside. It is a mere breathing-spell to enable a worn-out nation to recuperate its energies. The speech shows clearly that the Bolsheviki, not less than the Monarchists or the Cadets, have not the remotest idea of accepting the present territorial disintegration. The resumption of Russian unity is as essential to them as to any of the antagonistic parties. Lenin, throughout, lays emphasis on the need for international reorganization as the prelude to military reorganization. Here, surely, is the point at which it is possible for America and the Allies to find a source of assistance and friendship. It is exactly by helping in that task of internal reconstruction that the psychological atmosphere of necessary confidence can be created, if Russia can be persuaded, as such action is bound in the end to persuade her, that the sole object of Allied assistance is to make permanent the valuable conquests of the Revolution, we shall strike at the root of German domination in the near east. The stronger we can make Russia the more certain she is to influence the liberal forces of Germany in the direction we desire. But a strong Russia must be a free and self-confident Russia, and that depends, in its turn, upon the mood in which we approach her. Lenin's speech may well prove the key to the desired attitude. Russia does not want to be an Athanasius contra mundum. If we restore her energy she will give us her support. The war cannot really be won except insofar as we secure it.

MR. DILLON'S proposal to refer the Irish question to President Wilson is obviously unpractical; it remains to be seen whether it is equally unpractical to refer that question to Presi-

dent Wilson's principles. These principles have elevated the President above every other figure in the Allied world, and where they relate to self-determination and the rights of small nations they are having definite and significant effect in middle Europe. Under the circumstances it is not only natural that Irishmen should seek to relate Allied practices to Allied ideals and precepts, it is supremely pertinent and proper. There is an urgent need for more men in the British army, and Irish man power is at hand, but the conscription of Irishmen in the teeth of President Wilson's principle of self-determination will not only treat that principle as nugatory, it will reduce every pretension to high-mindedness in this direction to pious fraud. The men of Ireland can be enlisted and ought to be enlisted, but not until the principle of self-determination is fully and honestly recognized.

ACCORDING to the Public Ledger bureau at Washington (July 25th) "the Japanese government, it is stated, has not been convinced as yet of the feasibility of dispatching an army to European Russia on account of the great distances to be traversed, but is willing to meet to the full extent of her resources any situation that may arise." This is not the first time that interventionist dispatches have contained a note of doubt on the part of the Japanese that military intervention by way of Vladivostok could actually effect a reconstitution of the battle line in western Russia, where alone it could do more good than harm to the Allied cause. The Japanese have the utmost confidence in their ability to hold Siberia up to Lake Baikal. But to constitute an eastern front on the line of Baikal would be to bracket 175,000,000 out of 180,000,000 Russians with the Germans as acknowledged enemies of the Allies. That is a more desperate risk than the Allied governments have ever assumed. If they were hovering over the brink of defeat they might conceivably assume it. But defeat was never further from the Allied calculations than it is today.

POSSIBLY there is some mistake in the press reports that District Attorney Fickert has given his affidavit to the effect that Mr. Felix Frankfurter of the National Labor Administration privately admitted his belief in Mooney's guilt and his desire to appease the radical elements in America and Russia. So preposterous a misrepresentation of Mr. Frankfurter's known views could hardly issue from a mind quite in command of itself. Yet it sounds very like Fickert. Since he first made up his mind to fix the guilt upon Mooney, he has not missed a single chance, reasonable or not, to prejudice public opinion against his victim. If

the alternative had been Mooney's life or his own, Fickert could not have conducted a more desperate and unscrupulous fight. Scandalous press campaigns, crooked evidence, class prejudice, all seemed legitimate means to Fickert, provided they helped him to kill his man. American judicial history can hardly afford a better instance of the public prosecutor, supposed officer of the court and guardian of justice, degenerated into a passionate, primordial hunter of men.

SUBMARINE sinkings in the month of June, according to British admiralty returns, reached a total of 275,000 gross tons. American deliveries of ships in the same month, according to Mr. Schwab, amounted to 282,000 tons. There are discrepancies in the methods of calculation, but they are not so serious as to disturb the conclusion that very shortly America alone will be building more ships than the losses by submarine of American, Allied and neutral shipping. Whatever the British and Japanese yards may build may therefore be regarded as a net addition to Allied shipping. So far, good. But there is another aspect of the matter Americans should not lose sight of. Much more than half of the ships building today are American; much more than half the ships sunk are British. Out of the 275,000 tons lost in June 161,000 tons were British. If these proportions of production and loss are maintained through many months, as appears inevitable, the net effect will be the progressive transfer of ocean carrying power from the British, to whom it is a vital interest, to the Americans, to whom it must remain a subsidiary interest. We have no desire to encroach upon British interests even through the inescapable consequences of war. In our economic arrangements for the period after the war full provision should be made for a pooling of ship ownership that would clear us of all appearance of economic aggrandizement at the expense of our Ally.

Flanking Germany

GERMANY will not succeed in taking Paris and the Channel ports. She will not attain a military decision by the destruction of the Allied armies in France. So much is clear from the results of the last week's fighting. With all her resources concentrated on the western front, with all the advantages to be derived from interior lines, Germany is still not strong enough to repel an energetic Allied assault. She will have to shorten her lines to obtain reserves sufficient to make them safe. And as more and more American troops complete their training, the German line will have

to be still more shortened. The German armies will have to yield ground, however stubbornly they may contest each hill or stream that affords basis for defense.

But it is a far cry from the checking of the German offensive, or even from a retrograde movement by the German armies, to a conclusive Allied victory. German ambitions centre in the east and southeast, Germany desired victory in the west chiefly to realize on her eastern projects. If the war could end with Germany firmly established in the control of eastern Europe, history would accord her the title of victory. Her western strategy is therefore essentially defensive. Germany is defending not so much her own territory as her eastern spoils. And if she could induce the Allies to play her game, she would have them concentrate their growing resources upon her all but impregnable western front. She could drag out the contest through several bitter years, with a fair hope that eventually war weariness would generate a peace that ignored Germany's eastern dispositions altogether.

The Allies will not, however, play the game according to the German desire. The Slavic lands which Germany regards as her natural prey represent potentially the greatest anti-German force in the world. From the Arctic to the Adriatic Germany is flanked by Slavic populations broken only by the German and Magyar minority of Austria-Hungary. All, with the exception of Bulgaria, are anti-German. Nor are they merely passively anti-German. The wholesale executions of the last four years have not sufficed to check the growth of the revolutionary spirit among the Czecho-Slovaks and Jugo-Slavs. The German and Austrian forces in the Ukraine never feel themselves secure against a popular uprising, and Great Russia has openly proclaimed that she regards the peace of Brest-Litovsk as nothing more than a truce. Given adequate assurance of support, Slavdom would rise against Germany, to the utter overthrow of all German ambitions. Such assurance the Allies will be able to give as soon as their forces in France have attained to secure preponderance.

But when shall Allied assistance to the Slavic peoples be applied? The possibility of working from the north and east has been quite thoroughly canvassed. All the forces that could be supplied over the Trans-Siberian, the Archangel and Murmansk railways would be insufficient to constitute a front that would hold against German attack. The reconstitution of Russian economic life must precede an effective reconstitution of the Russian front. But the key to German control of Slavdom is Austria. By Austria Czecho-Slovaks and Jugo-

Slavs are held down; though Austria, Bulgaria and Turkey are held to the Teutonic alliance; Rumania and the Ukraine are exploited over Austrian lines of communication. The collapse of Austria would give the signal for Slavic liberation. Accordingly what is plainly indicated as the next great stroke of Allied strategy will be a crushing blow directed against Austria.

But is Austria vulnerable? Almost all that remain of her best troops are now concentrated in Italy. In the Piave they hold a strong defensive line, but it is a line that can be passed, as they proved themselves in their late offensive. With half a million American and French and British troops to add driving power to the Italian line, it can hardly be doubted that the Austrians could be expelled from the Italian plain. Indeed, it is quite possible that a great disaster may be awaiting the Austrians here.

The roads across the Isonzo and the Alps do not lend themselves to the requirements of a rapid and orderly retreat, especially after snow flies, and it will be near the close of open weather that we shall have half a million men to spare on the west. In any event the expulsion of the Austrian armies from Italy would administer a terrible shock to the crumbling structure of the Dual Empire. In a succeeding thrust toward Laibach, the Allied forces might easily find their flank supported by a Jugo-Slav revolt.

It is not necessary, however, to assume rapid progress into Austria over Napoleon's old route to Laibach. The Italians found the route impracticable; it may still remain impracticable, although the Austrian armies are much weaker and the Germans will be too fully occupied on the west to send relief. At all events Allied forces can be established on the upper Adriatic, to serve as rallying points for Jugo-Slav revolutionaries, as Saloniki has served as a rallying point for the indomitable Serbs.

The progress of the French through Albania, effected by very modest forces, indicates that it is not suicidal to land on the eastern coast of the Adriatic. At one point or another forces sufficiently large could surely penetrate far enough to threaten the railway supplying the Austrians and Bulgars before Saloniki. And this would be the beginning of the end of Central Europe.

With the Allied forces at Saloniki set in motion, supported by the Greeks, Bulgaria would have no choice but to commit her fortunes to the mercies of the Allies. Turkey would collapse and the Allied navies could penetrate the Black Sea, to organize a rising of the Ukrainians. With the prospect of

effective relief from the south, the Great Russians could safely resume their war of liberation and accept safely Allied assistance from the north and east.

All this, it may be objected, would be to violate the Napoleonic principle of concentrating all resources upon the destruction of the main force of the enemy. It would be to dissipate forces on subsidiary fields. To this objection the answer is obvious. When the main force of the enemy is an entire nation, no field that threatens it is subsidiary. An attack upon Germany by way of Italy and the Balkans would essentially be nothing else than a flank attack. It would be an attack upon a flank that Germany has not the resources to defend. For it is promised that before the Allies undertake any other operation they will establish in France forces great enough to occupy the whole German army. That they can do this and still have formidable forces to employ elsewhere is established by the fact that with only 300,000 Americans in the line of battle the Germans are sorely put to it to hold their own. But we already have nearly an additional million men in France, and before the winter our forces will be enormously increased.

Accordingly we might confidently look forward to a successful flanking operation even if we had not in prospect the rolling up of great forces in the very territory where it is proposed to operate. But this prospect is brilliant. We can at least mobilize the force at Saloniki, probably 400,000 effectives. We can count with equal security upon 400,000 Greeks. The Italians, with a sure prospect of victory would fight with far better spirit. How many men we could raise in a revolutionary Jugo-Slavia or draw away from a disintegrating Austrian army can only be guessed. The number would certainly be large, and the fighting quality of the best. The operation would involve no new enemies. America, to be sure, would have to make war on Bulgaria, but this she will do cheerfully if Bulgaria does not speedily detach herself from our enemies. And we should have to make war on Turkey unless that iniquitous empire collapsed at the near approach of determined war. It is not impossible that our approach would detach both of Germany's weaker allies. Bulgaria and Turkey are sick of the war. They would probably sue for peace today if Austrian disintegration cut their communications with Berlin.

Before the present campaign is over the Germans will doubtless have launched a succession of peace offers, progressively more tempting. What will it profit the Allies, they will urge, to pay life for life until the Germans are expelled from France, when they would be withdrawn voluntarily on a

basis of peace with the eastern treaties ratified? German influence in the east will remain predominant in any event, so the German propaganda will suggest. We are not, however, confined to a strategy of paying life for life. We have the resources to keep the German armies immobilized in France while we set in flames behind them the whole structure of their control of Slavdom. Liberated by their own efforts and by our aid, the Slavic nations will take care of themselves. German colonization and German peaceful penetration will pass into limbo along with the much more grandiose German project of world hegemony.

Mob Violence and War Psychology

EVERY American who values the credit and self-respect of his country will be grateful to President Wilson for his eloquent denunciation of mob violence and for his only too convincing demonstration of its injurious effects on the success of American war aims. It is becoming an appalling evil, which is injuring American reputation for self-control and fair play in Europe and which is regarded with altogether too much complacency by American public opinion. Indeed, the evil is so general and deep seated that the President's exhortation will not, we are afraid, avail to reduce its enormity. Lynching will not voluntarily be abandoned as the result of persuasion. It will have to be stamped out by force, and hitherto the municipal authorities or local security leagues and defense societies have not exhibited any sufficient disposition to stamp it out. Americans have long indulged a habit of mob violence and a war such as this inevitably brings to the surface all the failings and anomalies in the organization and morale of a nation. We shall not understand and remedy the current outbreak of mob violence unless we frankly interpret it as one result of the existing war psychology of the American people and base our remedies on this interpretation.

It would be salutary for public opinion to recognize one disagreeable but unquestionable fact in connection with American mob violence. It takes place in almost all cases with the connivance and in many cases with the actual assistance of the "better element" of any community in which it occurs. Such connivance or assistance exists at the present time. The facts upon which the President's protest is based are notorious. Yet they meet with comparatively little reprobation or even notice either from the newspapers or from public speakers. There is no indication that the great

majority of those people who do most to mould public opinion in this country are particularly shocked at the presence of mob violence and other evidences of collective moral disintegration. They are doing practically nothing to prevent it. They are even doing something to encourage it. A mob consists in a crowd of excited, credulous, highly suggestible and some times apprehensive human beings who are swept away by a common emotion and while under its hypnotic influence consider any opposition to their will a justifiable occasion for immediate violence. This state of mind is being assiduously cultivated by many of our newspapers, many of our respected fellow-citizens and certain public officials. Those who do not encourage it certainly fail to protest against it. Their exhortation and example do not result in lynching except in that part of the country where Judge Lynch is a recognized public official, but it does result in the ruthless assassination of reputations, in the wholesale condemnation of suspects practically without trial, in a savage intolerance of any but the most extreme opinions and in a callous indifference to individual cases of injustice.

The condition in this respect of American public opinion and its consequences are beginning to excite apprehension abroad and particularly in Great Britain. Journals such as the *London Nation* are contrasting the liberal and ultimately conciliatory programme for which President Wilson has asked his countrymen to fight with the domestic policy of several departments of the American government during the war and with the impatient and indiscriminate intolerance of so much of American public opinion. French and English statesmen are expressing fears in private that American pugnacity and intransigence will stand in the way of what they might regard as a possible even if not a wholly desirable peace. They are becoming increasingly puzzled, apprehensive and distressed by the state of mind of this country and by the resulting anomalies of conduct, of policy and of propaganda.

It is no wonder Englishmen are puzzled and even somewhat distressed at the prevailing behavior and the state of mind of this country. It is not easy to understand how a nation which two years ago was profoundly reluctant to enter the war, which re-elected President Wilson in part because he had kept us out of it, which contains an unusually large number of humane, kindly, patient and tolerant people, which has always cherished freedom of speech as the most essential of its civil liberties and which has fought several wars without setting up any drastic censorship of opinion—it is hard to reconcile these facts with certain aspects of the existing domestic policy of the American government and with what is apparently the dominant

state of mind of the American people. Yet it is important that the American state of mind should be understood, particularly by European radicals, who are counting on the future assistance of the American government, and they will fail to understand it unless they approach American pugnacity on behalf of a better world with at least as much friendly curiosity as they have hitherto approached the corresponding lack of pugnacity with which the Russian people expect to realize a similar international programme.

The incompatibility between the American state of mind in 1916 and the American state of mind today is not as flagrant as it seems. Our existing pugnacity and intolerance is the reaction which an intensely patriotic and essentially political people would naturally pass through during the earlier stages of a war, participation in which it had for a while feared and shirked. The American nation is more bellicose, intolerant and headstrong than its European allies, precisely because of its former irresponsibility. Two years ago it was trying to be indifferent to the moral issues involved by the war. Up to the end of 1916 the government, with the support of the preponderant element in American public opinion, was working on the assumption that American national unity depended on maintaining a neutral isolation with respect to the European war. In acting on this assumption the utmost latitude was allowed to all kinds of pro-Ally, pro-German, pacifist, militarist, and nationalist, and socialist propaganda and activities. In 1917 the nation was obliged suddenly to abandon this assumption. After the German government forced war upon us American national unity came to depend upon a revolutionary reversal of feeling. Instead of preserving isolation we were committed to a policy of mortgaging the future productive ability of the American people and risking the lives of dearly beloved fellow-citizens in a quarrel of European origin which had to be fought out on European soil. Probably the needed revolution in feeling could not have taken place without some measure of calculated violence both in opinion and policy. At any rate, many Americans are now undoubtedly finding compensation for the neutral indifference and pacific irresponsibility of their former attitude towards the war by a disposition to be more European than the Europeans, more warlike than the Gauls and about as intolerant of dissenting opinion as were the British Tories in 1800. This is particularly true of the Middle West, which in 1916 was most reluctant to enter the war on any terms. Typical journals such as the *Chicago Tribune*, which in 1916 did not consider it of any particular importance to beat the Germans, now consider anybody who questions the

desirability of a one hundred per cent Allied military victory as a moral pervert and a traitor to civilization.

Other conditions peculiar to this country have contributed to the violence of this reaction. Our English friends should remember that there were domiciled in America thousands of aliens who were friendly to Germany, who were only too willing to contribute to American defeat. They should remember that the American Socialist organization was practically controlled by Germans, that American participation in the war was condemned as a crime by the American Socialist party, in spite of the international purposes for which America was fighting, and that a large amount of propaganda which was defeatist and pro-German in its effect was being circulated as Socialist party literature. No such conditions as these existed in any European country. The clear connection all during the summer of 1917 between much socialist propaganda and at least an indifference to Allied or American victory had much to do with the rigor of the official censorship and the intolerance of American public opinion. Without palliating for one moment the excesses of this censorship and of the intolerance associated with it, these alien socialists presented, it must be admitted, an obstacle to American political victory in the war which had to be suppressed by some measure of force. It was their own behavior which compelled the government to associate with respect for American national purposes a wholesome fear of American national power.

In so far as the foregoing account of the way in which the existing American war psychology originated is true, we may feel sure that its peculiar violence will gradually abate. Our fellow-countrymen suddenly became fearful that American national unity would not survive the disintegrating process which their revolutionary participation in a European war had started on its career; and in case we had entered this war for any purposes less democratic and disinterested than those laid down by the President, the fear might have been justified. As the result of the fear they yielded to panic and have gone further than was necessary in suspecting and in trying to stamp out dissenting views. At the present time the very violence of American opinion and policy has become itself an obstacle rather than an aid to our national moral unity. But the violence will not last. The essential unity of this country has been magnificently vindicated. America is more of a nation today than she has ever been in the past and her nationality is more firmly attached than ever to democratic domestic and foreign policy. It is this fact which will restore to Americans a feeling of national moral se-

curity, which will undermine the psychological causes of the existing mob violence and intolerance of dissenting opinion.

A Reprieve for the Children

THE War Labor Policies Board has granted a reprieve to the children who, in the language of Justice Holmes's dissenting opinion, were condemned to ruined lives when by a five to four vote the Supreme Court on June 3rd declared the Federal Child Labor Law unconstitutional. On July 19th, the Board adopted a resolution making the Secretary of Labor responsible "for the enforcement of the contract clause with reference to the employment of children by which all government contracts are to contain a clause providing that the contractor shall not directly or indirectly employ any child under the age of fourteen years, or permit any child between the ages of fourteen and sixteen to work more than eight hours in any one day, more than six days in any one week, or before 6 A. M. or after 7 P. M." The language is not identical with that of the demolished law, but its intent is identical. The Board has granted the children a stay of execution for the period of the war.

The immediate effect of the Board's resolution is a thing for which all modern minded people will be grateful. Directly after the Supreme Court handed down its decree, the Federal Children's Bureau began to call in the field agents who had been entrusted with the enforcement of the Child Labor Law. These agents reported that even before they were able to get their trunks packed, children between the ages of twelve and sixteen were being hustled to the mines and mills. Already they have been sent back to their old districts to pluck the industrious infants from all machines operating on government contract. Whether they will be able to salvage as many children under the new arrangement as they did under the Child Labor Law is an open question. But government business today is very pervasive business. It is quite possible that for the period of the war more children will be protected from the evil of premature and excessive labor than ever before.

But from the point of view of orderly government, this is not the most important question raised by the action of the War Labor Policies Board. Under stress of the war emergency, our government is rapidly being divided against itself. In case after case, the executive branch has felt itself compelled in the public interest and especially in the field of labor to over-rule solemn decisions of the Supreme Court. A little more than a year ago, the Supreme Court by a five to four vote held un-

constitutional a law of the State of Washington which made it unlawful for private employment agencies to charge fees to workmen seeking employment. The design of the law was to abolish private employment agencies, whose business, in the dissenting opinion of four Justices of the Court, was subject to the grossest frauds and dishonesties. Five members of the Court condemned the law as "arbitrary and oppressive," and unduly restrictive of the "liberty" guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. In the face of this decision, the President has issued a proclamation the design of which is to abolish private employment agencies throughout the nation and to give the Federal Employment Service a monopoly of the business of recruiting and distributing labor. The President justified this direct contravention of the essence of the Supreme Court's decree on the ground that the chaos attending the activities of private employment agencies was threatening the existence of the nation.

On January 25th, 1915, the Supreme Court held unconstitutional a law of the State of Kansas which sought to make it unlawful for an employer to require an agreement, either written or verbal, from employees or prospective employees not to join or to continue to be members of a labor organization. Violations were declared to be misdemeanors, punishable by fine or imprisonment. On July 1st, 1911, T. B. Copeage, a superintendent employed by the St. Louis and San Francisco Railway Company at Fort Scott, Kansas, requested one Hedges, a switchman who was a member of a labor organization, to sign an agreement to withdraw from the union. Hedges refused and was discharged. From a conviction in the trial court, Copeage appealed, claiming the statute in question was unconstitutional. The Supreme Court of Kansas upheld the statute and affirmed the conviction. But the United States Supreme Court by a divided vote declared the statute unconstitutional. More recently, in December, 1917, in the case of *Hitchman Coal and Coke Co. v. Mitchell et al.*, the Supreme Court reenforced the position taken in the Copeage case by declaring it unlawful for agents of a union to attempt to recruit members among employees under such agreements as the Kansas statute sought to outlaw.

Soon after this decision, on March 29th, 1918, the National War Labor Conference Board, commonly known as the Taft-Walsh Board, recommended, and the President approved and affirmed as principles to govern the relations between employers and employees, that the right to organize in trade unions should not be denied, abridged or interfered with by employers in any manner whatsoever and that "employers should not discharge workers for membership in trade unions." The

defendants in the *Hitchman* case were the United Mine Workers of America. Pursuant to the principle announced by the President, the Federal Fuel Administration has now erected a bureau of labor, headed jointly by the former president of the Mine Workers, Mr. John P. White, and Mr. Rembrandt Peale, a coal operator, which will enforce a policy of no strikes, use of existing machinery of arbitration and the right of the workers to organize without interference or intimidation. The decisions of the Supreme Court in the *Copeage* and *Hitchman* cases are thus effectively nullified.

The resolution of the War Labor Policies Board restoring the essential provisions of the Child Labor Law on the heels of the Supreme Court's decision declaring the law unconstitutional is only the last of a lengthening series of cases in which the executive branch of the government, responsive to prevailing public opinion and the critical needs of the nation, has found itself compelled to contravene the spirit of the law as interpreted by the Supreme Court. As to the wisdom or unwisdom of this course it is not here necessary to express an opinion. The patent fact is that in matters of fundamental public policy, we are rapidly becoming a nation divided against ourselves at the fountain heads of authority. Each executive act, however essential to the defense of the nation, that circumvents a solemn decree of the Supreme Court tends to bring not only the Supreme Court but the entire judiciary into contempt among the great masses of the people. It would seem obvious that unless there is a redefinition of authority by which the conduct of the Supreme Court is brought into harmony with the spirit of the times, the end of the war will find us facing domestic anarchy.

Dealing Gently With the Profiteers

THE Ways and Means Committee has made up its mind on the excess profits tax. It intends to avoid extremes. It places itself, so the press reports run, "in accord with the known views of the Senate Finance Committee as to excess profits." And this committee holds "that the entire business structure" must not be undermined by an excessive profits tax. Very good. None of us wants the business structure undermined by excessive taxation or by any other device of the short-sighted. We need the golden eggs; we must at all costs keep this bird alive. The pertinent question is, whether the rates agreed upon by the Ways and Means Committee are nicely calculated to keep the business structure intact while appropriating to the Treasury the maximum share of the returns in ex-

cess of reasonable compensation. Everybody is making sacrifices for the war, but business is business, and perhaps it ought to be permitted to thrive a little better than in times of peace. It ought not to demand the privilege of gorging itself to bursting. Any considerable excess profit belongs to the war that created it.

What can we deduce from the rates it is proposed to fix? Not much. These rates are to range from 30 per cent upon the net incomes above 10 per cent and under 20 per cent to 80 per cent on net incomes in excess of 25 per cent. Besides, all corporate incomes are to be subject to a normal tax of 10 per cent, and perhaps there is to be an additional punitive 5 per cent on undistributed profits. In the aggregate these three taxes are expected to yield near two and three-quarters billions. It is a tidy sum. If nothing at all were known about the actual volume of corporation war profits most of us would guess that the Ways and Means Committee was cutting deep enough.

But as it happens, a good deal is known about the volume of corporation war profits. The net incomes of all our corporations are regularly reported to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. For the three pre-war years of 1911, 1912, 1913, the average net income amounted to \$3,795,136,000. War prosperity raised the level of corporation net income to \$8,776,000,000 in 1916. The figures for 1917 have not yet been fully compiled, but according to extremely careful estimates, they will approximate \$10,500,000,000. That is, our corporations enjoyed in 1917 an income of about \$6,700,000,000 in excess of their pre-war income.

But the corporations have greatly increased their capital investments, it will be urged, and this fact accounts for a part of the apparent war excess of earnings. To be sure, the most exhaustive inquiries into the amount of new investment in corporations subject to taxation indicate that it can not at most exceed \$15,000,000,000. Most of this originated in undistributed profits, but we may disregard this fact if we like and assume that on the whole of it the corporations are entitled to ten per cent before we talk about war profits at all. We will deduct from our \$6,700,000,000 of apparent war profits a billion and a half for interest on new capital. The remainder, \$5,200,000,000 is war profits, as defined by common sense and British practice. The British government would have taken over \$4,000,000,000 in taxes; and we used to consider the British government very tenderly disposed toward property interests.

Under the law effective for 1917 we took something less than \$2,000,000,000 in corporation taxes, normal and excess profits combined. If the

Ways and Means Committee has its way we shall take about \$2,750,000,000 out of the war profits of 1918, which we are safest in estimating at somewhat less than those of 1917, although present indications do not actually justify us in assuming any considerable falling off in war profits. We will be arbitrarily generous and place the true war profits for 1918 at \$4,750,000,000. This leaves to the corporations, in addition to ten per cent on all their conceivable capital—a rate sufficient even for the Beef Trust—two billions above all the taxes they will pay. No: the business structure is not to be undermined by taking from its top this \$2,000,000,000 of superfluous war profits.

As everyone knows, we shall need a lot of revenue, perhaps two billions, beyond the yield of our present sources. We can get some millions by a tax on gasoline. It is said that there is altogether too much pleasure driving, among a people at war. We agree: there ought to be less. We ought not to be seeking pleasure but opportunity for sacrifice. There are millions to be had from coffee and tea and sugar. Why should the breakfast table appear flourishing when the best of our citizens are offering the supreme sacrifice of service in line of battle? There are other millions to be had from amusements. This is no time to be amused. But when the Ways and Means Committee has canvassed all these sources and found how hard it is to get even a billion out of them, it may perhaps be expected to reflect again upon the point whether business does not consist of a group of respectable enterprises, owned and controlled by honorable and patriotic men, who will not care to be recorded in history as insisting, not merely upon profits as usual, but upon a premium of a cool two billions to assure their full cooperation in the common cause.

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YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION FIFTY-TWO ISSUES, FOUR DOLLARS IN ADVANCE. SINGLE COPIES TEN CENTS. CANADIAN SUBSCRIPTION FOUR DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR IN ADVANCE. FOREIGN SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR COUNTRIES IN THE POSTAL UNION, FIVE DOLLARS PER YEAR IN ADVANCE: REMITTANCE TO BE MADE BY INTERNATIONAL POSTAL MONEY ORDER. ENTERED AS SECOND CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879.

The Coming British Elections

WITHIN three, or at most four months from the time this article appears, the United Kingdom will, almost certainly, be plunged into a General Election; when something approaching twenty millions of electors, voting in approximately equal electoral districts, will decide the policy, and virtually elect the Prime Minister of the British Empire. It will be an inconvenient occasion for such a momentous consultation of the electorate. Nearly half the adult manhood is under arms, most of it overseas. More than half the industrial workers are engaged in the production of munitions and other war supplies, directly or indirectly in government pay. There will be almost a famine in paper and envelopes; and most of the election speakers and writers, and many of the election campaign staffs, are serving with the colors. The newly compiled registers, with special provision for the soldiers, and for some other absentee voters, will include the names of a larger percentage of the census population—in different districts, between 40 and 45 out of every 100—than has ever before been enfranchized in any great nation. All the women and probably half of the men—possibly three-fourths of the entire electorate—will vote for the first time in their lives. And they will, we must assume, cast their votes amid the tense excitement of an unparalleled national struggle, in which the very existence of the British Empire is at stake.

There is, as is well known, no constitutionally fixed date for British elections. The dissolution of Parliament is determined, in effect, by the Prime Minister, acting within an undefined responsibility to his Cabinet and his Party, to public opinion and to the sovereign. The General Election follows immediately, and is now required by statute to take place (with some unimportant exceptions) simultaneously on a single day. The present Parliament was elected for a term of seven years in December 1910; and by its own statute in 1911 it further limited its duration to a maximum of five years. It has therefore doubly exceeded its mandate, and has only been kept alive by temporary statutes. One more such statute will have to be passed during this present month of July to keep the House legally alive until the beginning of 1919. But the new electoral rolls will be ready by October; and though many things about the results are so uncertain as to be beyond all prophecy, Mr. Lloyd George himself is confident (and with some warrant) that he will secure a triumphant majority. Such a majority would not only strengthen the hands of the administration in a resolute maintenance of the war,

but would also give the Prime Minister—who has never yet received a popular mandate for that office—such a personal endorsement as would make him less dependent than he is at present on this or that group in Parliament. We may therefore be sure that Mr. Lloyd George, who has told us that he is not unskilled in political strategy, will not postpone the General Election for any other reason than the happening of some grave national disaster, or some moment of supreme anxiety. And although we may assume that our political strategist will choose the happiest moment, and keep his decision a secret up to the last, we shall probably not be far out if we predict that—*barring accidents*—the polling day for the 20 millions of British electors will be a Tuesday or a Thursday about the middle of November.

It is this imminence of a General Election, and not the intrinsic importance of the incidents, that gave to the Party Conference of the British Labor Party in the last week of June its prominence in the newspapers, and riveted upon its proceedings the attention of every politically minded person in the United Kingdom. The newspapers were, indeed, hopelessly at sea about the Conference and its meaning; and inexcusably badly informed and prejudiced in their preliminary comments. The Conference was the ordinary Party Conference, summoned according to routine, for the election of the Executive Committee, the reception of its annual report, and the formal adoption, clause by clause, of the Party's Reconstruction Programme, which had been under consideration for six months in the form of the pamphlet "Labor and the New Social Order" (republished by the New Republic). This adoption, by the way, took place in the course of three long sessions of discussion, with only the slightest amendments of phraseology or of detail, in an assembly of nearly a thousand delegates, with a surprisingly close approach to unanimity. All the previous members of the Executive Committee who sought re-election were again chosen, with Mr. J. E. Clynes, M. P., one of Mr. Lloyd George's most successful Ministers, at the head of the poll. There was no vote on international affairs—which were not, and never had been, part of the agenda for this Conference—and the report by the Executive Committee of its various international proceedings was endorsed without dissent. Never was less opening for the journalistic sensation-monger, or for the promotion of "secession" scandals. The press was reduced to making a fuss about the invitation, as "fraternal delegate," (in addition to

the customary French and Belgian working class leaders) of Mr. Troelstra, the leader of the Dutch Labor Party, as the companion of Mr. Branting, the leader of the Swedish Labor Party. When the invitation to these two leaders of neutral Europe was announced (the concurrence of the War Cabinet having first been obtained) a great, and a discreditable clamor arose in the "patriotic" press. It was quite right to invite the leader of the Swedish Labor Party, as one neutral, because he was declared to be a partisan of our own cause; but the invitation of the leader of the Dutch Labor Party as another neutral was scandalous and intolerable, because he was declared to be a partisan of our enemy! The fact is that they are both simply neutral. Unfortunately, the War Cabinet, against the recommendation of the Foreign Office, yielded to the popular clamor; and (after having concurred in the invitation to Mr. Troelstra) abruptly forbade him to land on British territory. Now, Mr. Troelstra would have brought with him, it is believed, the extremely sympathetic and important official reply of the Austrian (and possibly also that of the German) Socialist Party, to the "Memorandum on War Aims" of the Inter-Allied Conference of February last. The War Cabinet probably did not realize, when it refused Mr. Troelstra a passport, what a valuable "moral offensive" for the Entente cause it was obstructing and postponing.

The other Conference incident that the press elevated to scandal was the decision to terminate what was called "the Party Truce." This was an agreement, entered into by the party officials at the very beginning of the war, that, when a vacancy occurred in the House of Commons, no Party would seek, by a contested bye-election, to wrest the seat from the Party to which it "belonged." This "truce," applicable only to bye-elections, became difficult to maintain when the whole Party was working up to a fiercely contested General Election within a few months, at which as many constituencies as possible will be fought. It was therefore decided to give notice that it would no longer be binding on the Labor Party. The eight Labor Ministers chose to take this as a summons to quit the Government; and were only with some difficulty persuaded that, whatever might be the case when the General Election came, the Conference had no intention of calling on them prematurely to make a choice between the Coalition Government and the Labor Party. One of them, as already stated, was actually placed by the Conference at the head of the poll for the Executive Committee.

But the sensation of the Conference was, of course, the entirely unexpected appearance on the platform of Mr. Kerenski, who very significantly

made his first appeal, on escaping from Russia, not to any government, but to the British Labor Party, and subsequently to the French Socialist Party. A very few petulant dissentients notwithstanding, the Conference gave Mr. Kerenski a great ovation—meaning, of course, nothing more than the heartfelt sympathy of the British Labor Movement with the Russian Revolution which has deposed Tsardom, without too nicely discriminating between one representative of the Revolution and another, between "Social Revolutionaries" and "Bolshevists," or between one method of helping the Russian people and another.

What was important in the Conference was the demonstration of the growth in numbers, power and status of the Labor Party itself. Mr. Henderson was able to announce that 304 candidates were either definitely fixed to constituencies, or in process of being so fixed (this is just half the total constituencies of Great Britain), whilst about a hundred more were already in contemplation. Many Liberals, and some Conservatives, who have formerly stood or been invited to stand for these Parties, are this time asking to be allowed to stand as Labor Candidates—a process of conversion which is paralleled by very significant "turnovers" among electors of the professional and even of the capitalist classes, who declare their intention of voting "Labor." To those who know the conditions of English politics, it will be no less significant to record the beginning of the conversion of the barristers, several of whom will be contesting seats for the Labor Party, possibly even a King's Counsel or two who have joined the Party. In several places, the Liberal Party organization has gone over en bloc to the rising Party. An interesting announcement was that the Labor Party would have one or more candidates for each of the six constituencies into which the 100,000 graduates of the British Universities are now to be grouped for separate representation by their additional votes in respect of their degrees. Labor candidates for Oxford, Cambridge and London Universities are already actively in the field; and receiving a most encouraging amount of support from the graduates in all the faculties.

Now there is beginning the anticipated campaign of abuse and misrepresentation, prejudice and malice, with which the great popular press (skillfully engineered in Mr. Lloyd George's interest), endeavors to check the progress of the Labor Party among the electorate. Attempts are being made to set up a rival "Trade Union Labor Party," in order to hamstring the Labor candidates. A previous attempt of the same kind (the British Workers League) has been pretty well scotched, but continues its efforts. The Labor Party (which,

like the Liberal and the Conservative Parties themselves, has both its pacifist and its jingo extremists) is upraised and denounced (in spite of its repeated and invariable decisions resolutely to maintain the war), as being "defeatist" and pacifist. Absurd lists of notorious pacifists, conscientious objectors and persons convicted of offenses against the Defense of the Realm Act are circulated as being those of the Labor Party candidates; and these are reproduced, without investigation, by newspapers like the *Morning Post*. Your readers may take it that these lists are ludicrous in their inaccuracy. One half, or sometimes even three-quarters of the names given (and these the most notorious) are those of persons who are not, and have never been Labor candidates. But the denunciations and insinuations will go on for the next three months; and the whole whirlwind and tornado that Mr. Lloyd George will rouse, by his speeches, and through the newspapers backing his campaign, will have its effect on a large proportion of the twenty million electors.

The result is admittedly more unpredictable than that of any previous election. We may all concur in estimating that Ireland, as usual, will go against the government by four to one in seats. Of the six hundred seats in Great Britain, Mr. Lloyd George's Coalition Party may probably secure seven-twelfths, or 350. The balance will be divided between the followers of Mr. Asquith and those of Mr. Henderson; and no one is prepared to predict with any confidence which of these minorities will be the greater. For my own part, I should think the Labor Party will have done well if, contesting only two-thirds of the seats in Great Britain, it polls a quarter of the aggregate vote; and if its present 35 members return to the House of Commons a hundred strong. But, in spite of all Mr. Lloyd George's political strategy and press tornado, there may possibly be a landslide to the left; and unless Mr. Asquith's Liberal Party promptly makes up its mind to take up energetically at the Election the part of "His Majesty's Opposition," the landslide will carry forward not the Liberal but the Labor forces. But it is important to realize that, whatever may be the electoral outcome, the decision of the vast majority of the nation resolutely to maintain the war will be the same. Substantially, the official programmes of all three parties on this point will be identical. Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Asquith and Mr. Henderson—differing mainly in phraseology and in the proportion allowed to particular details—will alike declare that we must fight on for the aims laid down by President Wilson; and nevertheless neglect no honest overtures from the enemy. The Labor Party may dislike the manners, and also the blunders, of the members of the present ad-

ministration; it thinks it could better their policy at this point or that; on their treatment of "Reconstruction," and domestic policy generally it is profoundly at issue with them; but it has no desire to weaken the national effort in the war.

SIDNEY WEBB.

Janus and the Modern World

FEW things in the world are more dangerous than the possession of a conscience. It leads one into moral abysses out of which an ascent is almost impossible. So at least Leonard Clarkson has found. He is a Harvard student in his senior year, and he has specialized in moral philosophy. He is a careful and studious youth, so zealous as a taker of notes that it is not untruthfully reported among his intimates that his instructors have been in the habit of buying his reports of their lectures at the end of the year: it is so much easier than to prepare a newly edited version of what they had to say. At first Clarkson had been in the habit of taking his notes in longhand, but he soon found that this led to the missing of important phrases, so he took a course in stenography and practised all the afternoons. It was this that led to his undoing; for unconscious pride in his new achievement led him to those lectures where the instructor spoke slowly and emphatically so that his notes were a literal transcription of what was said.

It was near mid-year that the event happened which seemed destined to mark an epoch in his life. He was attending Professor Hampton's course in ethics and the lecture turned on the relation of conscience to public opinion. Professor Hampton spoke eloquently about the dangers of instinct and urged his hearers to study carefully the logical background of every argument before a conclusion was formed. "I myself," he said in that impressively sententious way that has made him famous from Yale to California, "I myself always write down the arguments for and against any political thesis before I adopt it," and he went on to give examples, notably that of prohibition, in which the student could usefully attempt his methods.

Clarkson was enraptured with the idea, and he tried it, with good results, on several subjects that afternoon. He found, for instance, that it made him in favor of a fusion of Harvard and Radcliffe; for the only argument he could discover against it was the reduction it would cause in professional incomes, while in its favor there was the fact that the presence of the Radcliffe students would im-

prove the Harvard dress and tone, and he knew himself how association with Barbara Beecham stimulated him to intellectual exertion. The method, then, was clearly successful. He had long wanted an opportunity to see more of Barbara, and now it was evident that reason had turned a personal sentiment into a logically held conviction.

It was that same evening that he saw the advertisement in the Boston Transcript which lured him to destruction. The Massachusetts Prohibition Association offered a prize of one hundred dollars for the best argument in favor of amending the constitution so as to prevent the nation from being drowned in drink; and the only conditions were that you should be a student in one of the universities of the state and agree to read your essay, if successful, to the annual August meeting of the Association. The prizes would be announced on July 4th so that Clarkson would have six weeks in which to write his essay. The idea stirred him at once, for though he was not a prohibitionist, the idea of temperance had always appealed to him, Barbara's father being a Methodist minister. And with one hundred dollars he could buy that motorcycle with the trailer about which Barbara had spoken only a week before. At least he would think it over and see if the essay was compatible with his work. He thought he could get it accepted as a thesis in social ethics.

The mid-year examinations almost drove the idea from his mind and it must be said, to his credit, that he only thought of it when he was with Barbara. The eleventh of February was his undoing. It was his twenty-first birthday; and some friends celebrated it quietly at the Adams House. On the wine-card he noticed a report of another essay competition, like the first limited to state college students and ending on July 4th. But this was offered by the Massachusetts Brewery Association and it wanted you to show how prohibition was an assault upon the free choice of the individual and some other things of the kind. The prize was two hundred dollars, and all that the successful candidate had to do was to read his essay to an audience of liberally-minded brewers at their annual meeting in August.

Clarkson did not think much of it at the time, though, as an instinctive examinee, he naturally put the card in his pocket. It was when he was tossing restlessly in bed that night that the great idea occurred to him. He would write both essays. It was an admirable opportunity of testing Professor Hampton's methods. Surely, after so careful a labor, backed by so inviting a stimulus, he would have a right to an opinion on prohibition. The second essay, properly entitled, and with the correct number of referenced footnotes, could be used as a

thesis in his course on constitutional law. He could not expect, of course, to win both prizes; but the chance of three hundred dollars ought not to be missed especially when it would really be work for his degree on the one hand, and, if he had any success, a certain way to Professor Hampton's favor on the other. He flushed with the joy of anticipation as he sleepily murmured the good news to the Professor and Barbara.

Morning brought no relaxation of enthusiasm, and he set to work with zest. First he brought a box and a large number of cards for references. Then he went to the Widener Library and noted down all the literature on prohibition. This took him several days; but Professor Goule, who lectured on American history, saw him at work in the library, and praised the bibliography, even asking for its loan when it was finished. Professor Goule was known to have the largest bibliographical collection in America and Clarkson not unnaturally felt a little elated. He told Barbara about it that afternoon; though, as her father had just been elected to the Prohibition Committee of the State, he thought it prudent to speak only of one essay.

For the next two months he was very busy, and the essays were completed within only two days of the closing date. He felt very proud of them when they came back from the typewriting office: they looked so neat, and there were so many footnotes that he must, at least, get one; and he felt that Professor Goule, on bibliography alone, would give him an A for the thesis in constitutional law. He does not know how he passed the time until July 4th, though now he wishes it had been three years instead of three months.

The results came on the proper day—one in the morning and one in the afternoon. He was spending the day with Barbara and her parents at Springfield when a telegram was brought to him from home. It announced that he had won the prize for the essay in favor of prohibition. You can imagine what joy there was in the Beecham household. He was wise enough to use the occasion to tell Barbara's father of his hopes in relation to her; nor were they unkindly received. The second telegram came in the middle of some tennis. He expected it to be simply congratulations and left it unopened until the end of the set. Then he took it up, Barbara peering over his shoulder. It said that the brewers had awarded him their prize and added that they were so impressed by the strength of the constitutional argument that they wished him to read the essay at their annual meeting on August 4th. Barbara happily did not read it carefully and took it to be from the Prohibitionists, adding that her father was taking the chair at the meeting and that Leonard would make it so nice

for them all. Clarkson did not have the courage to undeceive her.

When he got home the next day he realized the extent of his peril. The two associations always meet on the same day, each hoping to undo the effect of the other. Each enclosed its due cheque, and ordered him to be at its meeting at the same time.

Clarkson does not know what to do. The announcement will be in all the papers. If he goes to the Prohibitionists he will forfeit two hundred dollars; if he goes to the brewers he will forfeit Barbara and one hundred dollars. He feels very miser-

able. Sometimes he curses himself; sometimes he curses the societies; sometimes he curses the evils of an education.

The worst of it is that he hasn't made up his mind on prohibition. When he reads his essay in its favor he thinks it eloquent and conclusive; when he reads the essay against he thinks it conclusive and eloquent. Nor does he know what he will do on August 4th. Sometimes he considers asking Professor Hampton about it; but a sickening instinct warns him that the Professor will urge him to tabulate the arguments on either side.

P. D. DURKIN.

The Counter Offensive

IT is obvious that none of the main objectives which the enemy planned to gain in his previous offensives were attained—neither the separation of the Anglo-French forces; nor Amiens; nor the Channel ports; nor Reims, which would have furnished copy for a resounding communiqué; nor Compiègne, objective of the thrust of June 1st, which was to gain a base for an offensive against Paris. This being the case, it was impossible for the Battle of the Emperor to terminate after these strategic reverses; for tactical successes, however real they might be, would not have justified in the eyes of the German people the enormous losses they had endured for three months. Therefore, since early in June, the German staff was preparing the gigantic offensive which, after those of Picardy, the Lys, the Aisne and the Oise, was to be the last act of the battle of 1918. The offensive was launched July 15th. What was its extent? What its results at the end of a week? What does the counter attack of the Allies signify? These questions will be rapidly reviewed below, studying successively:

The preparation of the German offensive,

Its execution,

The counter offensive of the American and French troops.

I. The German Preparation

To grasp completely the extent of the German failure it is necessary to realize the efforts they had made in preparing the attack.

The enemy's idea was to put all chances of success on his side, in an offensive which, because of weakening resources, could not be indefinitely repeated, and once again to fire the courage of all with the promise of impending peace.

During three months of offensives, the Germans

had endured losses which had reacted on their morale. During the month of June the extent of their losses, judging by the number of divisions engaged and the results, which are known in some cases, may have reached about 800,000 men. To fill these gaps in the ranks, the German staff called on a large part of the class of 1919, which till then had been carefully kept in the units occupying the Russian front. As early as April about half of this class were entered as part of the reinforcements sent to the divisions on the French front. The other half comprised the wounded who had recuperated and the men rendered available in various ways. But the rate of the losses in the German army would soon have emptied its depots had not exceptional measures been resorted to. Some of these consisted in energetically reducing the number of men still available in the interior and constantly drawing on the men at the Russian front.

An order definitely fixed the proportion of men from the auxiliary service assigned to the fighting units.

Factory managers were urged to replace the German personnel by prisoners of war and by workmen recruited in Russian territory. With this object in view the Germans did not for an instant hesitate to starve the inhabitants of some districts and even to burn villages in order to reduce Russian workmen to such utter destitution that they would enlist in the ranks of German war industries.

The German troops which were used in the interior of the empire or on Belgian soil, in garrison duties, anti-aircraft defense, surveillance of prisoners, etc., were and still are, replaced as far as possible, by Austrian detachments, or by men exempt by age from all active service.

The thirty-six German divisions which were trying to subdue the armed resistance of the Russians in the Ukraine and to conquer by force of arms, in

defiance of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, a territory whose wealth Germany coveted, sent continuously to the western front officers, men, small units; companies, battalions or batteries. They expect to receive Austro-German prisoners of war in exchange, or local police troops now being organized. If the enemy, therefore, is left free to apply this ingenious system, a number equal to about thirty divisions, if not the divisions themselves, may be transported to the western front between now and 1919. Thirty divisions represent approximately the results of American military efforts for one year. The enemy understands this fully. The opportunity thus presented for counterbalancing the American forces is too tempting to be neglected. It still remains to be seen whether, from now on, the Allies will allow Germany to play this really too simple game.

Confronted by a possible prolongation of the war, the German staff (which cannot be under the same illusions as its army) called on part of the class of 1920 in April and began organizing Ukrainian and Finnish armies in Russia, with the intention of at least more readily liberating the German forces in the east. Gradually, under German direction, a school for Ukrainian officers was opened at Bergsabern and one for Finnish officers at Fredrickshamm. The Austro-German prisoner organizations were developed to such an extent that they numbered 60 per cent of all the Bolshevik troops opposing the Czecho-Slovak or Russian detachments.

On the other hand, as far back as the first fortnight of April, the German staff realized from the force of our reaction that the morale of the Allies was in no way lessened, as had been hoped, by three months of strategic defensive. In the Berliner Tageblatt of June 18th von Ardenne himself acknowledges that the last French counter attacks were led "with passionate zeal and the spirit of sacrifice." And, evidently fearing lest the morale of the German army be affected by the excessive losses and by the poor food supply, he felt called upon to reassert that it "was neither weakened nor weary." "It was," said he, "superior strategic reasons which decided the German staff to temporarily suspend operations." This was an easy explanation which ill concealed the difficulties confronting the enemy command.

Merely the fact that the German staff postponed the attack for more than one month, in spite of the advantages which this lapse of time gave the Allies, daily reinforced by American troops, shows the straits they were in to find men.

While making every effort to complete its units, to fill its depots and to fortify its position in Russia, the German staff was preparing the plan for a new

offensive, aiming once more at an immediate termination of the war.

This preparation was followed by General Foch from day to day and the attack of July 15th was no surprise, either to the French army or to its commanders. The order of the day of General Gouraud to his army, a few days before the attack, confirms this statement.

One may question whether the powerful offensive of July 15th, which brought all the forces of the armies of the Crown Prince into play (about forty divisions were counted) represented the whole German plan. The direction chosen for the attack could only lead the Germans, even under the most favorable conditions, to the capture of Reims and the occupation of the Marne Valley, either towards Epernay or Châlons. They could not hope to bring about a decision of the war, even by capturing these objectives. If, however, the Allied command had been taken by surprise, the present offensive could greatly extend the base for a later attack on Paris.

For all the above reasons the German plan may be supposed to comprise two phases.

The first was without doubt intended to weaken the French army, which still remains a formidable adversary to Germany on account of its numerical strength, degree of preparation, moral energy and manœuvring qualities. For over four years it has never ceased to be the pivot of all combinations, whether it was a question of collaboration in the training of the Allied troops or coordination of their action in battle.

Once this result had been attained, and the French reserves were immobilized or exhausted, the German staff planned a second phase to destroy the British army, this being their first aim, or to renew the offensive on Paris from a more extended base of departure.

The future will show whether this was the plan. The Allies have already given it a severe check.

II. The Execution

The facts are already known through the calm and precise communiqués of the French staff.

On the morning of July 15th the forces of the Crown Prince, after a violent and brief artillery preparation, launched an attack along an eighty kilometer front on either side of Reims. The first objectives were Epernay and Châlons. Judging by orders found on prisoners they were to be reached within forty-eight hours!

But for some time General Foch had everything ready, not merely for resisting, but this time for a swift counter blow.

East of Reims, the French army of General

Gouraud held its line of resistance energetically, without weakening, while southwest of Reims, the repeated efforts of the enemy resulted, at certain points, in an advance of four miles at the most. An immediate counter attack of the American and French troops on this side recaptured part of the lost ground and imperiled the enemy's situation, as the bridges it had thrown across the Marne were destroyed by French artillery. The losses were enormous. By the evening of the first day the impression was that the attack was a complete failure.

The impression was confirmed on the 16th and 17th of July, when all the enemy's attacks were shattered, his losses increasing constantly. The Germans, however, would not abandon their project and the battle raged fiercely.

III. The Counter Attack of the Allies

During the morning of the 18th, the fourth day of the great German offensive, the results gained by the enemy were practically nil. In Champagne, Gouraud's army had broken all German attacks and retained all its positions intact. Southwest of Reims, the enemy was everywhere held or even pushed back in his endeavors to advance by the two banks of the Marne.

Then suddenly the American and French troops went on the offensive.

Foch's counter attack was first launched along a thirty-five kilometer front, between the Aisne and the Marne, eastward. For the first time in an important attack one-third of the attacking troops were Americans. They were led by a commander whose energy is proverbial, General Mangin. The direction chosen, from the west eastward, was a total surprise to the enemy, threatened his lines of communication in the Château-Thierry salient, and reached the outskirts of Soissons, cutting off the only railroad which supplied the advance units on the Marne.

On the 20th this counter offensive extended to the Valley of the Marne, which the French troops crossed between Fossoy and Charveves and to the heights between Marne and Reims, where the English, French and Italians advanced.

The results were instantaneous.

To the left an important advance, which carried the French and Americans up the heights southwest of Reims, from which points they could sweep the enemy's lines of communications. The capture of numerous villages, 25,000 prisoners, 500 guns, all attest the rout of the enemy. The Germans fought desperately south of Soissons, in order to protect the retreat of the advanced troops on the Marne, but the Allies broke all their counter attacks.

At the same time, under pressure of the double

offensive from the west and the south, the enemy recrossed the Marne which the French and Americans passed by main force, reoccupying Château-Thierry.

The exploitation of this splendid victory is not yet completed while these lines are being written. The enemy will no doubt be compelled to continue his retreating movement north of the Marne. On the other hand, the new divisions which are being sent to support the armies of the Crown Prince—over 42 divisions counted in the Reims-Soissons salient—may lead to a similar reinforcement of the Allied forces and develop the extent of the battle to an unforeseen degree. But, without attempting to foretell the future, let it suffice for us to call attention to the new character which victorious counter offensive has given the battle.

Instead of submitting to the enemy's will, General Foch impressed his will on them. The Germans were counter attacked from the second day and at the end of three days' unsuccessful and despairing efforts they were forced to the defensive and to yield along the entire front.

We have seen the magnitude of the German preparation. Never has such a powerfully organized offensive been so completely shattered. This fact should be borne in mind. Waged on the Marne and in the north this battle assumes a symbolic character. Some of its phases remind one of the form Foch gave the battle on his army front September 9th, 1914. It is the offensive-defensive battle as he had conceived it, when circumstances beyond his control obliged him to await the attack. One sees here the rapid and unexpected manœuvre which reaches the flanks and rear of the enemy compromised by his own advance. Till now the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied forces faced with this crushing responsibility in the midst of battle could only stem the tide of the enemy's advance after several days. He was hampered by the situation confronting him, by the great numerical superiority of the adversary, by the added one hundred kilometers of front which the French army was forced to maintain.

Today one feels that he was the master of the situation. Following his principles he prepared the counter blow. The means with which to effect it were found in the cooperation of the Allied forces and especially that of the American and French troops—which was wonderfully effective, thanks to the superb military effort put forth in the United States. The close collaboration of the American and French staffs, the perfect accord with General Pershing, a commander whose mind and heart are equal to the greatest events, make any combinations possible and give the maximum amount of efficiency in the minimum amount of time.

Side by side with the French troops, whose material and moral strength has never been greater, the American troops went into battle with the confidence one would expect in so great a nation. They are fighting shoulder to shoulder with us and, what is more, they are fighting with a spirit of offensive in accord with the well known temperament of the two armies.

At the same time the British troops, expecting the enemy's attack on the north, cooperated by the activity of their aviation, in the victory on the Marne. They were in action again, with the French and Italians on the battlefield northwest of Reims, on July 20th, capturing 400 prisoners and 20 guns.

This is not yet the "Battle of the Allies" and yet the counter offensive of July 18th and 19th marks an important date in the history of the war. It consecrates, by a victory, the importance of inter-Allied unity of command. It accords with the magnificent action of General Pershing, when, on the twenty-eighth of last March, he placed his troops at the disposal of Foch. It reveals in advance the special character and import of the future battle, and for the Americans as well as the French it justifies the great hopes which the two governments had placed in the reciprocal confidence of the two countries, the close collaboration of the two general staffs and the common ideals of the two peoples.

E. REQUIN,
Lt. Colonel, French General Staff.

With the Americans on the Marne

SOMEWHAT over a month ago a French General encountered an American Colonel of infantry below Château-Thierry.

"How long have your men been on the march?" asked the General.

"36 hours."

"Then of course they are too tired to go in."

"Not at all—they'll go right in."

"Can you stop the Germans?"

"Certainly we can stop them."

It was thus that an American infantry regiment and five batteries of artillery were thrown straight across the road from Metz to Paris. The Germans not only did not advance one step further along that road, they were immediately driven back by the Americans and their reinforcements at Bouresches, at Château-Thierry, at the Bois de Belleau; and in the last fortnight the same unit—which had had only a month in a quiet sector before coming into this fierce battle—has greatly strengthened

the defenses of the Paris Road by taking the last corner of the Belleau Wood and advancing the line northwest of Château-Thierry from the village of Vaux to the Bois de la Roche. In the month that it has been in the line the American unit has been faced by seven German Divisions of which it has worn out five, two of them first-class and one specially mentioned by the Kaiser. Until this glorious 4th of July when some of the troops were sent to Paris to march down the Champs-Élysées, many of them had not taken off their clothes or boots.

It was fine to see them marching this morning, through the flags and the flowers and the French acclamations—marching with a stern, determined athletic swing and eyes fixed straight before. They did not often stoop to pick up the bouquets that fell at their feet. What a difference from the happy-go-lucky smiling straggle of the French veterans! The French troops are old to war and on gala days they can take their ease in the midst of their people, like a patriarch of great reputation in the admiring family circle. Our army, by contrast, is the boy of twenty-one, just coming into his majority: his past has been obliterated by the striking of the fatal hour and all he knows—with a very solemn knowledge—is that the future is his to mold. As the Parisians watched our men pass to-day they seemed to be taking the same knowledge as their hearts.

If it was good to see the Americans on the Champs-Élysées it was better to see them on the Marne. An observer who actually watched them go over the top on July 1st to take Vaux—with a shout of fury against the "s. o. b. Huns" told me that he had never conceived such enthusiasm, such eagerness, such combativeness. I had a chance to note it myself among the wounded and the victors the day after the fight for the remainder of Belleau Wood on June 25th. They were all—with many anecdotic illustrations—clamoring to go back again. One sergeant wounded in the arm was explaining to the surgeon as he climbed on to the operating table the necessity for his leaving within three days.

"I don't care about myself, you understand—it's the Company. You see they *need* me."

"I see," said the doctor. "The war may last a while yet, but we'll do what we can for you."

The Marne is a beautiful and peaceful country back of the lines. The river winds calm through stretches of red poppies, through waving wheat fields and wooded spaces. Up and down the valleys and hillsides the haystacks are dotted as they were in September 1914; and sometimes, along the straight, white roads, under the slim double file of poplars, a group of two or three soldiers' graves

recalls more sharply that other decisive battle. It will never again, however, be a simple matter for the Germans to cross the river and descend on Meaux.

How I should have liked to view the mole-like activities that were going on from one of the observation balloons that hung in the blue sky that day! Even from the motor they were obvious and several bands of German prisoners from Belleau, whom we met under guard on the road, seemed to be taking them in with a very discouraged air. I shall not soon forget the grim, disillusioned eye of one Prussian officer, who might have been a professor of Sanscrit before the war. Prisoners were often in evidence that day: the German wounded were getting exactly the same care as our own in our crowded evacuation hospitals; and at a dressing station, in a picturesque old building close to the front, we came upon a Hamburg youth with his head tied up in a white bandage, who was having a lesson in Wilsonism.

He was eighteen in October, and had been fighting since then after four months of training. He spoke English correctly and precisely—having learned it at school as he explained—but he simply could not get the distinction on which our soldiers were insisting between the German people and their rulers.

"That's Hindenburg and Ludendorff," protested the American privates, in chorus. "What's the German *people* think?"

"The German people think they're going to win the war this summer."

"That's what Hindenburg stuffs you with. What do the *people* say?"

The boy looked more and more puzzled: "They say this summer—now they begin to whisper next winter. There are more Americans than we believed, and better ones."

"What do *you* think?"

"I don't know . . . All people think they are going to win."

"How do you know we won't stand you up against that wall and shoot you?"

That was one thing he did know. He was grinning and lighting another American cigarette as our motor started on towards Headquarters.

The warfare now being carried on in the woods, as one of the American officers who had directed it made clear to me on his map, is the nastiest in the world. It is impossible to know where the danger lies, and our men had not had a pleasant time the evening before taking the rocky knoll which the officer said was not unlike the Round Tops at Gettysburg. It was held by three German infantry companies and one machine gun and one minenwerfer company. Almost all were captured

and of the five companies most were uninjured.

"The German troops were told," the officer went on, "as we know from our documents, that the Americans must have no success, that their success must *at all costs* be prevented in this sector. It has not been prevented; it has, on the contrary, been complete. In every local attack the enemy has had more men than we and has definitely not been able to stand up against us, man for man. The American fighting here, though a series of minor engagements, technically speaking, has really a major significance: for it has shown the Germans that American troops are to be feared, that they are fast becoming the best in Europe, especially for attacking purposes."

In the French villages behind the lines, where horizon blue alternates with olive drab, the same opinion is being expressed, and the relation not only between the men, but between the staffs of the two nations, seem to be most happy. The American staff officers spoke out loud in praise of the French General of whose army corps their unit makes a part, and told how the bluff American Colonel, already mentioned, had said to him on that first day:

"You are very young to be a Corps Commander, General," and how the General had laughed.

He was young enough in any case to realize that Americans are different from Frenchmen and he had very quickly worked out in regard to the American troops under his command a theory which jumped with the views of the American staff: the theory that you can get more out of a unit of American troops if you allow them to do things their own way than if you wet-nurse them.

The French General has found his theory abundantly justified by its practical results. When he has wanted a certain line occupied he has said so—and the line has been occupied by American methods. That is how the line from Vaux to the Bois de la Roche was taken on July 1st. Even the guns were American in this case and all objectives were obtained on schedule time and positions consolidated within 89 minutes.

The French staff has always stood ready to advise and help, but not a single order has been given save through the American Chief of Staff. Anyone who has seen the spirit of our men and realized how much that spirit has been fostered by the sense that they are standing on their own feet, under their own command, must understand that this highly intelligent liaison, worked out on the Marne, should have far-reaching results for the best cooperation of the "Franco-Americans."

ELIZABETH SHEPLEY SERGEANT.

Paris, July 4th.

The Education of Joan and Peter

V

The Schoolboy Man

WHEN Peter moved up into the Lower Sixth he became a rather cynical man of the world with an air of knowing more than a thing or two. He was, in fact, learning a vast number of things that are outside the books and rearranging many of his early shocks and impressions by the help of a confusing and increasing mixture of half lights. The chaotic disrespect of the young went out of his manner in his allusion to school affairs; he no longer spoke of various masters as "Buzzy," "Snooks" and "the Croker," and a curious respectability had invaded his demeanor. The Head had had him in to tea and tennis. The handle of the prefect's birch was perhaps not more than a year now from his grip, if he bore himself gravely. He reproached Joan on various small occasions for "thundering bad form," and when his friend Wilmington came on a visit the conversation became, so to speak, political.

They talked at the dinner-table of the behavior of so-and-so and this-and-that at "High" and at "Bottoms" and on "the Corso," they discussed various cases of "side" and "cheek," and the permanent effect of these upon the standings and reputations of the youths concerned; they were earnest to search out and know utterly why Best did not get his colors and whether it was just to "super" old Rawdon. They discussed the question of superannuation with Oswald gravely. "Don't you think," said Oswald, "if a school takes a boy on, it ought to see him through?"

"But if he doesn't work, sir?" said Wilmington.

"A school oughtn't to produce that lassitude," said Oswald.

"A chap ought to use a school," said Peter.

That was a new point of view to Oswald.

Afterwards came Troop, a larger boy than either Peter or Wilmington, a prefect, a youth almost incredibly manly in his manner, and joined on to these discussions. Said Oswald: "There ought not to be such a thing as superannuation. A boy ought not to be let drift to the point of unteachable incapacity. And then thrown away. Some master ought to have shepherded him in for special treatment."

"They didn't look after us to that extent, sir," said Troop.

"Don't they teach you? Or fail to teach you?"

"It's the school teaches us," said Peter, as though it had just occurred to him.

"Still, the masters are there," said Oswald, smiling.

"The masters are there," Troop acquiesced. "But the life of the school is the tradition. And a big chap like Rawdon hanging about, too big to lick and too stupid for responsibility. It breaks things up, sir."

This manliness in the taught interested Oswald tremendously. Peter was acquiring it rapidly, but Troop seemed to embody it. Oswald himself had been a man early enough and had led a hard life of mutual criticism and exasperation with his fellows, but that had been in a working reality, the navy; this was, he reflected, a case of cocks crowing inside the egg. These boys were living in a premature autonomous state, an aristocratic republic with the Head as a sort of constitutional monarch. There was

one questionable consequence at least. They were acquiring political habits before they had acquired wide horizons. Were the political habits of a school where all the boys were of one race and creed and class suitable for the problems of a world's affairs?

Troop, under Oswald's insidious leading, displayed his ideas modestly but frankly, and they were the ideas of a large child. Troop was a good-looking, thoroughly healthy youth, full of his grave responsibilities towards the school and inclined to claim a liberal attitude. He was very great upon his duty to "make the fellows live decently and behave decently." He was lured into a story of how one youth with a tendency to long hair had been partly won and partly driven to a more seemly coiffure; how he had dealt with a games shirker, and how a fellow had been detected lending socialist pamphlets—"not to his friends, sir; I shouldn't mind that so much, but pushing them upon anyone"—and restrained. "Seditious sort of stuff, sir, I believe. No, I don't read it, sir." Troop was for cold baths under all circumstances, for no smoking under sixteen and five foot six, and for a simple and unquestioning loyalty to anyone who came along and professed to be in authority over him. When he mentioned the king his voice dropped worshipfully. Upon the just use of the birch Troop was conscientiously prolix. There were prefects, he said, who "savaged" the fellows. Others swished without judgment. Troop put conscience into each whack.

Troop's liberalism interested Oswald more than anything else about him. He was proud to profess himself no mere traditionalist; he wanted Caxton to "broaden down from precedent to precedent." Indeed he had ambitions to be remembered as a reformer. He hoped, he said, to leave the school "better than he found it"—the modern note surely. His idea of a great and memorable improvement was to let the Upper Fifth fellows into the Corso after morning service on Sunday. He did not think it would make them impertinent; rather it should increase their self-respect. He was also inclined to a reorganization of the afternoon fagging "to stop so much bawling down the corridor." There ought to be a bell—an electric bell in each prefect's study. No doubt that was a bit revolutionary—Troop almost smirked. "It's all very well for schools like Eton or Winchester to stick to the old customs, sir, but we are supposed to be an up-to-date school. Don't you think, sir?" The egg was everything to this young cockerel; the world outside was naught. Oswald led him on from one solemn puerility to another, and as the big boy talked in his stout man-of-the-world voice, the red eye roved from him to Peter and from Peter back to Troop. Until presently it realized that Peter was watching it as narrowly. "What does Peter really think of this stuff?" thought Oswald. "What does Nobby really think of this stuff?" thought Peter.

"I suppose, some day, you'll leave Caxton," said Oswald.

"I shall be very sorry to, sir," said Troop sincerely.

"Have you thought at all—?"

"Not yet, sir, at least—"

"Troop's people," Peter intervened, "are Army people."

"I see," said Oswald.

Joan listened enviously to all this prefectorial conversation. At Highmorton that sort of bossing and influencing was done by the junior staff. . .

Oswald did his best to lure Troop from his administra-

tive preoccupations into general topics. But apparently some one whom Troop respected had warned him against general topics. Oswald lugged and pushed the talk towards religion, but there they came up against a stone wall. "My people are Church of England," said Troop, intimating thereby that his opinions were banked with the proper authorities. It was not for him to state them. And in regard to politics, "All my people are Conservative." One evening Oswald showed him a portfolio of drawings from various Indian temples, and suggested something of the complex symbolism of the figures. Troop thought it was "rather unhealthy." But—turning from these monstrosities—he had hopes for India. "My cousin tells me, sir, that cricket and polo are spreading very rapidly there." "Polo," said Oswald, "is an Indian game. They have played it for centuries. It came from Persia originally." But Troop was unable to imagine Indians riding horses; he had the common British delusion that the horse and the ship were both invented in our islands and that all foreign peoples are necessarily amateurs at such things. "I thought they rode elephants," said Troop with quiet conviction. . .

Troop was not only a great experience for Oswald, he also exercised the always active mind of Joan very considerably.

Peter, it seemed, hadn't even mentioned her beforehand.

"Hullo?" said Troop at the sight of her. "Got a sister?"

"Foster sister," said Peter, minimizing the thing. "Joan, this is Troop."

Joan regarded him critically. "Can he play D. P.?"

"Not one of my games," said Troop, who was chary of all games not usually played.

"It's a game like Snap," said Peter with an air of casual contempt, and earned a bright scowl.

For a day or so Troop and Joan kept aloof, watching one another. Then she caught him out rather neatly twice at single wicket cricket; he had a weakness for giving catches to point and she had observed it. "Caught!" he cried approvingly. Also she snicked and slipped and at last slogged boldly at his patronizing under-arm bowling. "Here's a twister," he said, like an uncle speaking to a child.

Joan smacked it into the cedar. "*Twister!*" quoth Joan, running.

After that he took formal notice of her, betraying a disposition to address her as "Kid." Ralph Connor was at that time adding his quota to the great British tradition. It is true he wrote in *American* about cowboys—but a refined cowboy was the fullest realization of an English gentleman's pre-war ideals—and Ralph Connor's cowboys are essentially refined. Thence came the "Kid" anyhow. But Joan took umbrage at the "Kid." And she disliked Troop's manner and influence with Peter. And the way Peter stood it. She did not understand what a very, very great being a prefect is in an English public school, she did not know of Troop's superbness at rugby; it seemed to her that to behave as though a visit to Pelham Ford was an act of princely condescension was bad manners. She was even disposed to diagnose Troop's largeness, very unjustly, as fat. So she pulled up Troop venomously with "My name's not Kit, it's Joan—J-O-A-N."

"Sorry!" said Troop. And being of that insensitive class whose passions are only to be aroused by a smacking, he began to take still more notice of her. She was, he perceived, a lively Kid. He felt a strong desire to reprove and influence her. He had no suspicion that what he really wanted to do was to interest Joan in himself.

Joan's tennis was incurably tricky. Troop's idea of tennis was to play very hard and very swiftly close over the net, but without cunning. Peter and Wilmington followed his lead. But Joan forced victory upon an unwilling partner by doing unexpected things.

Troop declared he did not mind being defeated, but that he was shocked by the spirit of Joan's play. It wasn't "sporting."

"Those short returns aren't done, Kid," he said.

"I do them," said Joan. "*Ancient.*"

Peter and Wilmington were visibly shocked, but Troop showed no resentment at the gross familiarity.

"But if everyone did them!" he reasoned.

"I could take them," said Joan. "Anyone could take them who knew how."

The dispute seemed likely to die down into unverifiable assertions.

"Peter can take them," said Joan. "He drops them back. But he isn't doing it today."

Peter reflected. Troop would never understand, but there was something reasonable in Joan's line. "I'll see to Joan," he said abruptly, and came towards the middle of the net.

The game continued on unorthodox but brilliant lines. "I don't call this tennis," said Troop.

"If you served to her left," said Peter.

"But she's a girl!" protested Troop. "*Serve!*"

He made the concessions that are proper to a lady, and Joan scored the point after a brief rally with Peter. "Game," said Joan.

Troop declared he did not care to play again. It would put him off tennis. "Take me as a partner," said Joan.

"No—I don't think so, thanks," said Troop coldly.

Everyone became thoughtful and drifted towards the net. Oswald approached from the pergola, considering the problem.

"I've been thinking about that sort of thing for years," he remarked, strolling towards them.

"Well, sir, aren't you with me?" asked Troop.

"No. I'm for Joan—and Peter."

"But that sort of trick play—!"

"No. The way to play a game is to get all over the game and to be equal to anything in it. If there is a stroke or anything that spoils the game it ought to be barred by the rules. Apart from that, a game ought to be worked out to its last possibility. Things oughtn't to be barred in the interests of a few conventional swipes. This cutting down of a game to just a few types of strokes—"

Peter looked apprehensive.

"It's laziness," said Oswald.

Troop was too puzzled to be offended. "But you have to work tremendously hard, sir, at the proper game."

"Not mentally," said Oswald. "There's too much good form in all our games. It's just a way of cutting down a game to a formality."

"But, for instance, sir, would you bowl grounders at cricket?"

"If I thought the batsman had been too lazy to learn what to do with them. Why not?"

"If you look at it like *that*, sir!" said Troop, and had no more to say. But he went away marvelling. Oswald was a V. C. Yet he looked at games like—like an American, he would have a man play to win; it was enough to perplex anyone. . .

"Must confess I don't see it," said Troop when Oswald had gone. . .

When at last Troop and Wilmington departed Oswald

went with them to the station—the luggage was sent on in the cart—and walked over the ploughed ridge and up the lane with Peter. For a time they kept silence, but Troop was in both their minds.

"He's a good sort," said Peter.

"Admirable—in some ways."

"I thought," said Peter, "you didn't like him. You kept on pulling his leg."

So Peter had seen.

"Well, he doesn't exercise his brain very much," said Oswald.

"Stops short at his neck," said Peter. "Exercise, I mean."

"You and Troop are singularly unlike each other," said Oswald.

"Oh, that's exactly it. I can't make out why I like him. If nothing else attracted me, that would."

"Does he know why he likes you?"

"Hasn't the ghost of an idea. It worries him at times. Makes him want to try and get all over me."

"Does he—at all?"

"Lots," said Peter. "I fag at the blessed Cadet Corps simply because I like him. At rugger he's rather a God, you know. And he's a clean chap."

"He's clean."

"Oh, he's clean. It's catching," said Peter, and seemed to reflect. "And in a sort of way lately old Troop's taken to swatting. It's pathetic." Then, with a shade of anxiety, "I don't think for a moment he twigged you were pulling his leg."

Oswald came to the thing that was really troubling him. "Allowing for his class," said Oswald, "that young man is growing up to an outlook upon the world about as broad and high as the outlook of a bricklayer's laborer."

Peter reflected impartially, and Oswald noted incidentally what a good profile the boy was developing.

"A clean, serious bricklayer's laborer," said Peter, weighing his adjectives carefully.

"But he may go into Parliament or have to handle a big business," said Oswald.

"Army for Troop," said Peter, "via a university commission."

"Even armies have to be handled intelligently nowadays," said Oswald.

"He'll go into the cavalry," said Peter, making one of those tremendous jumps in thought that were characteristic of himself and Joan.

H. G. WELLS.

CORRESPONDENCE

The British Labor Truce

SIR: I am only one of the many men I meet about who cannot see clearly why the English Labor Party—which I regard as having taken most momentous steps for progress in these war times—has broken its truce with the government. None of us care lightly to convict it of political opportunism, and I therefore ask the New Republic for such information as it possesses on this subject.

St. Louis, Missouri.

McALISTER BURTON.

[We are quite sure our correspondent will be completely satisfied by the following statement explaining the reasons for and the nature of the truce withdrawal. It was made by Mr. J. E. Clynes, M.P., Food Minister in Mr. Lloyd George's Cabinet and a member of the Executive Committee of the Labor Party. He declared:

"All that Labor did in the matter of the truce with the government was to declare the truce at an end as regards bye-elections. It did this for three reasons.

"I.—Some of our local organizations had been putting up candidates in defiance of our Central Labor Party Executive. By ending the truce Labor could continue to give general support to the government's war policy, but, quite properly, it could now be left free for bye-elections. Whenever the question is clearly put to British Labor to continue the resistance against the enemy, the answer is always to see the war through and obtain a settlement along the lines of the Allied policy. Labor's action then in ending the truce with the government means simply that it wishes a little more freedom in domestic matters, but desires at the same time to maintain the same degree of national unity in resisting Germany.

"II.—Bye-elections had actually been fought while the truce was still in existence. The truce had ceased to be

observed long before Labor sought an increased measure of liberty.

"III.—The Reform Bill had been carried, thus preparing the way for the General Election. The bill tends to strengthen Labor. All the parties are preparing for the test of strength. It was only natural for Labor to secure freedom in order to test its strength. The breaking of the truce does not register the slightest tendency to lessen the support by Labor of the government in its war-making.

"On the international situation, the attitude of Labor is scarcely to be distinguished from that of President Wilson in interpreting the aims of America. Labor has held special conferences on the international situation. And also the Labor and Socialist forces of the Allied nations have held conferences. Although America was not represented, we have had the benefit of conversations with American delegates of Labor, and the results of our previous conferences were quite in keeping with the speeches of the American delegates, and completely in line with the expressions of President Wilson.

"Our inter-Allied programme declared that a German victory would be a disaster and defeat for democracy, and that such an aggression as Germany was guilty of upon Belgium cannot be tolerated by a democracy. Germany has shown by her policy in Russia (at Brest-Litovsk and after) that moral appeals are of no avail, and that force is the only doctrine which Germany recognizes. The inter-Allied memorandum held that settlements, properly made, would solve internal affairs and international relations.

"Having laid down such a programme, such a programme has been sent to the Allies, and also proclaimed to the peoples of Germany and Austria. It is for them to reply whether they will follow democratic principles and laws of consent, instead of the joint power of kaisers and armaments. Working-class opinion would not tolerate any international talks about not waging the war to the end unless

the peoples of Germany and Austria signify their willingness and agreement to these pronouncements of Allied opinion, which date back as far as February, 1915.

"For several reasons, of working and wage conditions, discontent has arisen and enmity to the government, among certain groups. And that hostility to the government has been set up as hostility to the organized resistance of the government against Germany. It is essential to distinguish here between enmity to the government and the continuing unity of working-class opinion on war policy.

"The action of certain local Labor and Socialist bodies, undermining the Labor members of the government, has provoked the retaliation of the threat to start a purely trade union political party. Our own desire is to regard these differences as temporary and subordinate. The unity of the nation cannot be maintained without unity of the parties; certainly not without the unity of the Labor Party. It is therefore unlikely that there will be very much response to the suggestion of starting a trade union political party. But the protests may do good in showing resentment against the action taken by certain local Labor and Socialist bodies in their attacks on Labor men in the government."

THE EDITORS.]

Little White Angels to France

SIR: As an illustration of 99.44 per cent pure complacency, the following passage from Miss Sergeant's article "The Temper of the A. E. F." seems to deserve a palm.

"The A. E. F. at the end of its first year in France has got down to bedrock. A Y. M. C. A. secretary of the old school recently asked a group of 500 men who had seen service at the front to name the 'four worst sins.' Here is the average composite answer:

- "1. Cowardice.
- "2. Selfishness.
- "3. Stinginess.
- "4. Bigheadedness.

"'What of wine and women?' he asked, to be greeted with laughter. That was a personal matter. The 'sins' that mattered were those which injured that collectivity called the army, fighting for its own existence, for the U. S. A. and the democratic future of the world against a strong and dangerous foe.

"It is fair to add that the Y. M. C. A. secretary told the story himself, with the comment that the men were right."

Apparently neither Miss Sergeant nor her mild-mannered Y. M. C. A. secretary, in their efforts to get that much sought-for will-o'-the-wisp, "the soldier's point of view," have yet accomplished the art of letting him tell his story in his own words.

It is rather inconceivable that any soldier who was half a boy would be likely to include "wine and women" among the four worst army "sins." In the first place, these twain are the forbidden fruit around which clusters much of the romance of the land where the fighting forms the long, dark, contrasting shadow. In the second place, in spite of our doctrinal codes, they are not necessarily sins, either to the boys in the army or to some of us who incline more to the ethics of social economics than to so-called moral precepts.

However, if either Miss Sergeant or her secretary had asked their audience what they thought of drunkenness on post, or venereal disease, they might perhaps have received an answer that would have made their effort worth while.

We aren't sending many little white angels to France, though ignorance due to lack of proper parental teaching may be responsible for a certain degree of what, for want of a better term, may be called innocence. But there is one thing that most of our soldiers are being made aware of, and that is that the one great sin is incapacitation for service as the result of a voluntary act, whether that act be sleeping on duty, turning one's back on the enemy, contracting a venereal disease, or getting drunk.

Perhaps it would be unjust to accuse our author of such a childlike ignorance of the results of wine and women as her account might imply, but it seems at least warrantable to protest against the complacency which would have her readers believe that "wine and women" are, for the soldier, "personal matters" which do not injure that "collectivity called the army," particularly when information is available to show that venereal disease (to the existence of which liquor is an adept and subtle contributor) has in the aggregate caused more incapacitation for service than perhaps any other factor except the actual fighting, and at times has rivalled and even outstripped the latter.

Thanks to those American officials who, at the very beginning of our participation in the war, relinquished the silly idea that these were "personal matters," our army has a lower rate of venereal disease than any other army has ever had. But don't let us destroy the fine bulwarks built up against this ever-present menace by the kind of twaddle which eggs on our soldiers to revert to any former irresponsible attitude towards it—at least until victory over the Hun has returned them to civil life. And even then, perhaps, they may find that in their absence these things have been largely removed from the category of personal matters.

MARK HUNTINGTON WISEMAN.

New York City.

War Savings Drive Discourages Thrift

SIR: I protest that the present War Savings Drive has lost sight of the original intention and in effect discourages thrift.

The "drivers" now seem bent only on raising the assigned amount, regardless of how or whence it comes. Of course the amount will be raised, but the same effort in a Liberty Loan Drive would net far greater returns.

But real harm is done in that the campaign of education in thrift is lost sight of. The small savings every individual can make are forgotten or so dwarfed by the appeal for large subscriptions that they seem valueless. And these small savings, real and potentially vast, it was the purpose of Thrift and War Savings Stamps to stimulate.

Personally I invest my surplus in Liberty Bonds, gaining some little glow of satisfaction but no education therefrom. The little booklet into which I paste my Thrift Stamps as I gather them one by one, through a soda denied or what not, rests in a pocket very close to my heart and educates my stomach, brain, and perhaps my spirit as well.

Why not adhere to that arduous campaign of education in saving by real denial of present comforts, and leave the drives for Liberty Loans, where they count so much more?

Beaumont, California.

ALEX STRAUSS.

American Newspapers

The Profession of Journalism, a collection of articles on newspaper editing and publishing, taken from the Atlantic Monthly. Edited by Willard Grosvenor Bleyer. Boston: The Atlantic Monthly Press.

RIGHT through these able articles on the American press there runs a note of apology. For some odd reason the Atlantic Monthly did not ask Mr. William Randolph Hearst to contribute to its discussion, or perhaps he was invited and declined—at any rate, even without a single admission from Gyp the Blood himself, there is an unmistakable defensiveness, almost tearfulness, about the eminent editors and publishers who write these eighteen articles. One might expect this from Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard. His subject is in itself lugubrious—Press Tendencies and Dangers—and Mr. Villard's tradition is that of a journalistic Holy Roller. Aside from his extremely good article, however, there are innumerable proofs that American newspaper men are reveling in a sense of sin. One anonymous contributor, a provincial editor, just stands up on the stool of repentance and bellows. Mr. James S. Metcalfe is not on the sinful side of the house, but he has great pleasure in confessing the crimes of others. The oft-told William Winter's Tale ("Mr. Winter refused to be muzzled") is once more repeated, and the gloomiest of morals is extracted. "It is no disgrace that we are not an artistic people," but from such a people what can you expect? This is pretty much the roystering conclusion of H. L. Mencken. His article, Newspaper Morals, is not only the liveliest in the book, it is also the most genuine and provocative, but it softens its extreme hypothesis of ordinary gullibility and credulity by a sunny admission that everything comes out fairly well in the end. Mr. Mencken's article caused Mr. Ralph Pulitzer acute irritation. As King Pulitzer II., heir to a newspaper quite famous for its crusades, Mr. Pulitzer hotly resented the assertion that crusades are usually man-hunts and for this reason exciting and popular. Mr. Pulitzer declined to believe that any self-respecting newspaper could "palter with what it believes to be the right," etc. The editor's sarcasm and bitterness suggest a stifled agreement with H. L. Mencken. Is he unconsciously ashamed of the yellow ingredient in the World?

The best example of bad editorial conscience is supplied by Colonel Henry Watterson. Colonel Watterson was supposed to write on The Personal Equation in Journalism, being a celebrated Personal Equator, but unfortunately Professor E. A. Ross had just preceded him with an article on The Suppression of Important News, and Marse Henry could not leave that article alone. Professor Ross wrote it in 1910. He was not then so well acquainted with the bolsheviki as he is now, and he ended his well-founded, explicit statement of newspaper corruption with a mild proposal in favor of an endowed newspaper. "What can be done about the suppression of news?" the Professor inquired. "At least, we can refrain from arraigning and preaching. To urge the editor, under the thumb of the advertiser or of the owner, to be more independent is to invite him to remove himself from his profession. As for the capitalist-owner, to exhort him to run his newspaper in the interests of truth and progress is about as reasonable as to exhort the mill-owner to work his property for the public good instead of for his own private benefit. What is needed is a broad, new avenue to the public mind"; and

hence the necessity for an endowed newspaper. At this tame suggestion, and at the argument that led to it, Colonel Watterson went up in the air. It is sufficient to repeat the Watterson epithets to show the cumulative indignation and resentment of an old-timer. First, "the very thoughtful paper of Mr. Edward Alsworth Ross." Second, "his interesting résumé." Third, "Obviously, Mr. Ross is either a newspaper subaltern or a college professor. In either case he is, as Mr. Rosewater shows, a visionary." Mr. Victor Rosewater, "the accomplished editor of the Omaha Bee," is then brought forward to crush Mr. Ross. "I cannot resist quoting entire the admirable conclusion with which a recognized newspaper authority disposes of a thoroughly theoretic newspaper critic." Here you have the elaborate pretense of impartiality—"very thoughtful," "interesting," "visionary," "thoroughly theoretic," and then a dash of Victor on Corruption. As for Mr. Ross's major argument, the argument as to advertisers and capitalist-owners, Colonel Watterson is almost rhapsodic. "All these essentials to preëminent manhood," charm, energy, integrity, penetration, breadth, foresight, "must be fulfilled by the newspaper which aspires to preëminence. And there is no reason why this may not spring from the business end, why they may not exist and flourish there, exhaling their perfume into every department." You see the association of ideas; the accomplished Victor, the business end, perfumery. Any one who knows a full-grown newspaper business-office knows the probability that the editorial end will be "perfumed" by it. Colonel Watterson may have a nose for news, he has no nose for the brimstone of those baleful depths where circulation is brewed and the rate-card incanted. The Business End breathes fire and smells of carnage. The right word is not perfume.

It is obvious to any reader of these collected articles that the men who write them, for the most part the so-called intelligentsia, are acutely dissatisfied with the profession of journalism in America. Mr. Melville E. Stone is so charmed with the efficient Associated Press that he has no clear idea of his subservience to things as they are. Professor Charles Moreau Hager is benignly vocational. Mr. Rollo Ogden cultivates a walled garden. But practically all the rest, including the level-headed commentator on Honest Literary Criticism, Mr. Charles Miner Thompson, have it in their souls and on their minds to declare the false perspective of American newspapers. The values that are precious to these Americans, that is to say, are not recognized or respected or preserved by the regular run of newspapers. To work for a regular newspaper is, for such members of the intelligentsia, to work against the grain. This is not the uniform conclusion of the discussion. It is, however, the aura of the discussion. It is the clue without which the eighteen articles are unintelligible. It may be true, as the provincial editor maintains it is true, that the one way to get circulation in a small community is to be more blatant than your rival. Certainly the noisy newspapers and the time-serving newspapers manage to acquire most of the circulation between them. But the men who are thinking about journalism are not happy, and many of them agree with Mr. Villard that the dissatisfaction is widespread. "It has grown tremendously because the masses are, rightly or wrongly, convinced that the newspapers with heavy capital investments are a 'capitalistic' press and, therefore, opposed to their interests."

The relation of our newspapers to capitalism is at the root of all the apology and dissatisfaction in this volume. The notion of "capitalism" is too unanalyzed to be entirely illuminating. The processes of the Russian revolu-

tion are exhibiting the exact degree in which the notion is unanalyzed. But aside from the unanalyzed notion, there is the accompanying fact of the Russian revolution, a flaming manifestation of the vulgar realities which are so continually hectored and bullied and snubbed by the American press. Take, for example, the trial of the I. W. W. in Chicago. What has the Associated Press done about that? What have the regular newspapers done about it? It is too "unpopular," too intimately connected with awkward facts, to be allowed recognition. Yet the very basis of the Russian revolution is just such awkward fact and such "unpopular" philosophy. Is it this truth that explains the news policy in regard to armed intervention in Russia of such a decorous and apparently disinterested newspaper as the New York Times? How does it happen that the "news" of President Wilson's decision has been brazenly assumed over and over again by the New York Times? Such brazen assumptions, paraded as news, illustrate day by day the kind of capitalistic activity against which the intelligentsia is in ferment.

Is an endowed newspaper the answer? Or a world-wide revolution? It all depends, of course, on the varieties and degrees of social pressure. It is hard to imagine a revolution in the United States, and impossible to imagine it until Germany is fought to the finish. But dissatisfaction with American newspapers is growing and is likely to keep on growing. The more it grows, the better.

F. H.

Austria-Hungary and Her Slavs

The Future of the Southern Slavs, by A. H. E. Taylor. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

South Eastern Europe, by Vladislav R. Savic. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co.

At the Serbian Front in Macedonia, by E. P. Stebbing. New York: John Lane Co.

Bohemia's Case for Independence, by Dr. Edward Benes. London: George Allen and Unwin.

The Slavs of the War Zone, by the Rt. Hon. W. F. Bailey. London: Chapman and Hall.

IT is generally admitted that until within comparatively recent years, the information Englishmen and Americans received concerning the Slavs of Austria-Hungary came from unfriendly sources, from German or Hungarian writers. The Slavs were pictured as a people with no history worth recounting, with no culture worth considering, and in the case of the Serbs with such anarchical tendencies as to prevent all stable government among them. But the education in the "international mind" which has been growing apace in the United States during the past four years has received a great addition in *The Future of the Southern Slavs*, by A. H. E. Taylor.

Mr. Taylor is one of those scholars who can combine the mastery of a difficult subject with an equally great skill in presenting it. The book is a plea for the erection of a South Slav state in the event of a victory for the western Allies in which will be united the distinctively South Slav peoples, namely Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Mr. Taylor devotes the first fifty of his 320 pages to a brief history of their settlement in Europe and their evolution to the present day. The story is so well told that the reader continues to the constructive part of the book with a good basis for understanding the difficulties of the

problems that Mr. Taylor considers. These are discussed in the remaining chapters devoted to a study of the future relations of the new state with Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Bulgaria respectively, and concluding with two chapters given to the consideration of the internal problems that will confront the new state in its constitutional and administrative organization and in its industrial and educational development. To each topic Mr. Taylor makes a distinct contribution in information and understanding. The book is without exception the best on the subject for the intelligent American reader.

In discussing the future relations of the new state with Austria-Hungary, Mr. Taylor has made clear the hypocrisy of the claim of Hungary to be the constitutional state of a liberty-loving people. As a matter of fact there does not exist in Europe a worse oligarchy than that composed of the Magyar nobility, who deprive the mass of their fellow Magyars of representation in the government and tyrannously rule the other races as subject peoples. Pan-Serbian agitation from Belgrade unquestionably had some effect upon the Slavs of Hungary in their determination to secure independence and union with Serbia, nevertheless there can be no doubt that that determination was chiefly due to the outrageous mistreatment they received from their Magyar masters. It became more and more evident to the latter that the only way to prevent the catastrophe was by the destruction of independent Serbia. Magyar chauvinism was ably seconded by German commercialism which demanded that the Berlin-Bagdad railway pass through territory in safe and friendly hands.

It is indeed refreshing to read the condemnation by an English scholar of unquestioned patriotism of his country's and her allies' action in sacrificing the South Slavs' interest to Italian imperialism in the treaty of alliance made by Italy, Great Britain, France and Russia when she entered the war in May, 1915. To give Italy practically the whole of Dalmatia, inhabited almost exclusively by Serbo-Croats, means for the South Slavs merely to exchange one set of masters for another, and means for Europe the establishment of an Alsace-Lorraine in its southeastern corner. Italy has no reason to fear the South Slavs, particularly if she cordially welcomes the new state into the family of nations as now seems probable. Each will need the support of the other against the common enemy, the German. The concessions to Italy suggested by Mr. Taylor are indeed generous and sufficient to satisfy any fair-minded Italian patriot. He is on more doubtful ground when he suggests a northern boundary for the new South Slav state that would run north of the Drave and Danube rivers, though his boundaries are an improvement on the chauvinistic map at the end of the book.

In his treatment of Serbo-Bulgarian relations Mr. Taylor is very illuminating. He shows that on historical grounds much-contested central Macedonia may be claimed by Serbs or Bulgars, but that on ethnographic grounds it can be claimed by neither of them. The Macedonians are intermediate between Serbs and Bulgars and speak a patois which is intelligible to both. When he is educated, the Macedonian learns the literary language of either Serb or Bulgar, and thereby becomes a Serb or Bulgar. Mr. Taylor pleads, therefore, for the Serbian claims to the contested area not as a reward for Serbia's heroic services to the Allies and a punishment for the treachery of Bulgaria, which twice stabbed her in the back, but as a right based on solid grounds in geography and ethnography.

Mr. Taylor explains convincingly the reasons why the form of organization of the new state should be a unitary kingdom under the Serbian king and not a federation of the existing provinces or a dual Serbo-Croat monarchy. He discusses its future problems equally effectively, the division of the large estates among the peasants, the question of foreign investments, the dangers of pacific penetration, and the form to be taken by industrialism which, if in conformity with the genius of the Serb race, will be one of cooperation. One closes this interesting and illuminating book with a feeling of deep sympathy for this fine, heroic race, and with a hope that it may be enabled to attain at the close of the war the aim that has animated it through all its misfortunes, namely, unity and independence.

Had Mr. Taylor's work not been published the American reader would have been well provided with a volume which covers the same subject in Mr. Savic's South Eastern Europe. The title is misleading in that the work is confined almost exclusively to the South Slav question. The first few chapters give a brief history of the South Slavs, but not so fully nor so interestingly as Mr. Taylor's volume. The last few chapters consider the problems that will confront the new South Slav state should the Allies assist the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes to secure their unity and independence. The central chapters are devoted to an exposition of the heroic stand made by the Serbians against the two unsuccessful Austro-Hungarian invasions before the Germans finally sent Mackensen to destroy the Serbian army. It is a dramatic and inspiring story which excites the greatest admiration for the Serbs' endurance, ability and heroism. Mr. Savic very wisely includes in the book the celebrated "Declaration of Corfu," the declaration of union between the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, which will form the basis of the constitution of the new state. An excellent, accurate map of Southeastern Europe is found at the close of the volume. The book is characterized throughout by a fine spirit of moderation, and it is interesting that its Serb author is far more lenient towards the Allies in discussing their treatment of Serbia than is the Englishman, Taylor.

The difficulties of transporting men, food and equipment from England to Saloniki, and from Saloniki to the Serbian front at Monastir, is interestingly described in E. P. Stebbing's *At the Serbian Front in Macedonia*. One gets also glimpses of the picturesque mixture of races in the Aegean city, Turks, Jews, Greeks, Serbs, French, Russians, English and Italians, and their union under General Sarraill into an international army. The descriptions of the bleak country at the front, of the splendid work performed by the Scottish Women's Hospital with which Mr. Stebbing was connected, and of the magnificent bravery of the Serbs in their capture of Monastir form truly interesting reading. The author is chatty and diffuse, but he has written a book that will make a popular appeal. It is, moreover, excellently illustrated.

When the Hungarians (about the year 1000 A. D.) pushed their way westward across the Danubian plains until their progress was arrested by the Germans, the Slavs of Central Europe were permanently divided into the two groups of South Slavs and North Slavs, and from that time until the French Revolution, the two groups had practically no relations with each other. It is most unfortunate that there does not exist in English a book that will provide the intelligent reader with a knowledge of the history and status of the North Slavs, of the Czecho-Slovaks of Austria-Hungary, in the way Mr. Taylor's book does for the South Slavs. Nevertheless no American need remain in ignorance of the heroic struggle the Bo-

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hemians have maintained for centuries to prevent the extinction of their nationality and culture by the Germans, for it is convincingly, if briefly, told by Dr. Edouard Benes in *Bohemia's Case for Independence*. The record given by this fine exiled patriot of Bohemia's contribution to European civilization from the time that John Hus died for the freedom of individual conscience in 1415 to the present moment when dozens of Czechs have been hung, hundreds driven into exile and thousands deprived of their all for the sake of "self-determination," is a truly inspiring one. The reason why Austria-Hungary is determined that the Czech countries, namely, Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia, shall not gain independence is clear from the figures given by Dr. Benes of their superiority to the other Austro-Hungarian provinces in agriculture, mining, manufacture and commerce. To erect an independent Czecho-Slovak state would not only be a death-blow to the existence of the Dual Monarchy but to any hope of a Pan-German Mittel-Europa. When one reads of what the Czechs have done for the Allied cause in disorganizing the Austro-Hungarian armies by wholesale desertions to the enemy, in reducing the war loans by general refusal to subscribe, in crippling the governmental administration by parliamentary filibustering of every description, one hopes that when the time for the great settlement arrives their services as well as their heroism will not be forgotten.

The Slavs of the War Zone, by the Rt. Hon. W. F. Bailey, is not a war-book nor does it discuss except incidentally the history and political status of those peoples. It was written to inform Englishmen of their habits and customs, their views of life, their hopes and aspirations. In this the author has succeeded. He is evidently a keen

observer and gives a vivid, though at times a too detailed, description of market places, costumes, festivals, religious observances and daily life generally among the common people. Mr. Bailey appears to be at home among the North and South Slavs, among Poles, Ruthenians, Czechs, Croats and Serbs. Though he writes but little of their history and politics, he evidently knows them, and the reader closes the book with the feeling that its perusal was time well-spent. Unfortunately the book is without a map.

The Germans began this war with the slogan, the "Slav Peril." The slogan was a true one, but the peril was all to the Slavs. The war, in one of its aspects at least, is an attempt upon the part of the Slavonic peoples to rid themselves once and for all of Teutonic domination with its contempt for the rights of "inferior peoples." Every believer in the principle of nationality, every supporter of the right of a people to determine their own mode of life must wish them success. One vampire state that battered upon the life of subject peoples, namely, Turkey, has practically disappeared from Europe. One other still remains. Mr. Gladstone once said "nowhere has Austria done good." It is to be regretted that certain of his disciples have today taken the position held by his mid-Victorian Tory opponents against whom the famous parody of "Who is Sylvia?" was directed:

Who is Austria? What is she?

That all our swells commend her?

Dogged, proud and dull is she;

The heavens such gifts did lend her
That she might destroyed be.

But what is Austria? Is it fair

To name among the nations

Some Germans who have clutched the hair

Of divers populations,

And, having clutched, keep tugging there?

STEPHEN P. DUGGAN.

David Pinski's Plays

Three Plays by David Pinski, translated from the Yiddish by Isaac Goldberg. New York: B. W. Huebsch. \$1.50.

THE first of this group, a realistic three-act drama, deals with the tragedy of the creative will, balked by outside forces.

While offering something that is distinctly Pinski's, it is full of tiny tenuous threads, stemming from the Russians and the early Hauptmann. It is not racially interpretative. Save for a few emotionally atmospheric touches, it might have been written about any group of working people in any country. It seems to reflect a state of spiritual transition in which the author was unconsciously suppressing his race-consciousness. From time to time one feels the proximity of Zola, as one might of a rather pungent essence wafted at intervals on a shifting wind. But Zola merely threw off his gloves and plunged his hands into the disgustingly soiled linen. He said in effect: Behold, my healthy stomach does not even flinch before abominations! His eyes, absorbed yet aloof, watched every quiver of the flesh. Pinski bends closer, intercepting emotional vibrations before they have resolved themselves into action. His eyes are full of pity, but they hold too something of the greedy inquisitiveness of Pinye, the crazed old father of Isaac Sheftel, standing head cocked to one side watching the contortions of his dying son.

In the opening scene Isaac Sheftel is fumbling over his

invention in the squalor of a Russian Ghetto. About him are his little hungry, unwashed children, and the old father with his ashen drawl: "Dead! Dead! Empty!" Most distracting of all, his wife, Baylye, threshes about continually, nagging, persuading, reproaching, pecking like an angry beak.

BAYLYE: "A fine thing! Takes a vacation for himself and doesn't go to work in the factory already the third day! Wants to invent machines. Such big profits we get from his inventions! Makes Golden rich, that's all!"

Convincingly alive is Baylye, too disheartened to wash her face or keep her kerchief straight. Essentially the Eternal Survivor, she is not a special product of either her race or her environment. Culture would only refine the expression of her consistent, because basic, materialism.

Their cellar home is painted with appalling fidelity. We can almost sniff the rags. Here is that spiritual decay of the workers that sets in before maturity—the wet-rot of cellar plants that have never had enough sun. Only in Isaac life flames hectically. There is an effect of transparency about him. We seem to see his intensely focussed will burning as through the slides of a lantern. But it is a socketless light that throws off no heat. Pinye is a note of irritating and unnecessary emphasis on this death-in-life. He is a curious example of the persistence of the Greek Chorus, that buried Amazon whose fibrous hair sprouts through the centuries in little distorted growths.

While I believe a drama may be poured into as many moulds as verse or painting or any other art, I think the chosen form should be like the body of an athlete, without an ounce of surplus. But this play is littered with unessentials. People ungerrnane to the action drift in and out as in a saloon where none are rejected. We see Isaac smash the machines in the factory, yet the entire incident is retold in the scattered gossip in the third act. Still, the whole leaves a conviction of sincerity and life, usually missing in Pinero's and Sudermann's technically perfect dramatic exercises.

In the four-act drama, *The Last Jew*, the pogrom is only adjunct to the symbolism of the theme. This applies to most of the characters as well. Reb Mayshe, the city preacher, and his son Yekef represent the opposed spirits of old Judaism that have so strangely kept pace through the centuries—the spirit of the hero-prophet and that of the petty trader, who has bulked so great in the eyes of the world that he has obscured the race. In the three grandsons one feels the rushing and conflicting streams of modern Jewish thought. Here Socialist and Zionist face each other over an ever-widening chasm. Here, too, is the artist, drifting down the path of least resistance to the well-laid-out garden of Christianity, where he imagines less ugliness than he finds in his trader-father. Save for Reb Mayshe, the God of Israel has ceased to exist for any of them. His eyes alone behold the awful beauty of Jehovah, the Ancient Thunderer, who will yet send a redeemer to his Chosen. But in the Socialist and the Zionist, faith is not dead, merely unleashed. When Minye, the mother of the boys, announces the expected pogrom, Yekef the Trader thinks only of his store, but his sons rush off to the defense of the people. The servers of Jehovah are now the servers of humanity. Only Leon, the pagan-artist, lingers, unsure and unhappy.

The old preacher, deserted by his family, goes calmly forth, serene in the belief that he will find "the Army of the Lord" rushing to the defense of the synagogue. Instead, he discovers the Lord's army in the safety of the woods, busily swaying and mumbling over the Eighteen

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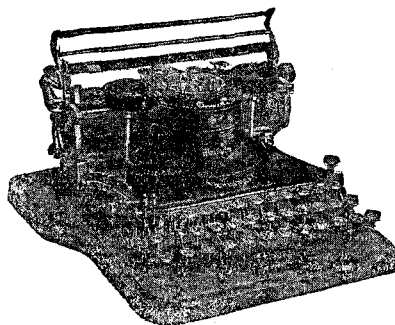
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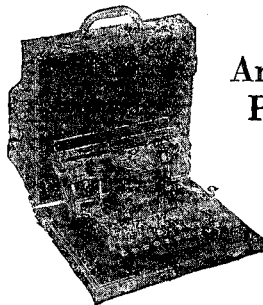


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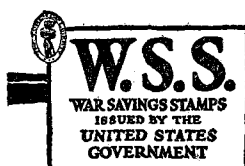
As a nation we've not been a saving people—we've lived up to the last cent. We've felt a pride in the luxuries of our table, our establishment, our manners of life. Then came the war and its merciless demands to give.

From somewhere must come the ships, the shells, the food which will sustain the boys who fight. And from somewhere must come the money to pay for these. From where?

From the useless things we wasted. From the weakening habits which have cost us health and money. From the "more-than-enough" margin we've thrown away. We must save. The purchase of War Savings Stamps will help us. Into these we must put the *wasted* gasoline, the *uneaten* food, the treatings, the entertainments—all the unessentials which must pay for this war. From these we can hope to create the Democracy of the world, and to shorten the war as well.

Buy your War Savings Stamps bountifully. Take a pledge to buy them monthly. Think afterwards of what can be sacrificed. In this way you can begin to save. Your own conscience will be your gauge—your own intelligence can tell you where to draw the line. In this way you can take your self-respecting part in the Victory to come.

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Benedictions. This scene forecasts the sly and bitter humor of the author's *The Treasure*. It is full of an intimate malice possible only to one of the same race.

In vain *The Last Jew* beats upon his people's doors, crying: "Jews! God's house is in danger!" He is surrounded by the cowardly and corrupt, who fall away at the first blast like fungi from a rotted tree. . . . And the young living timber is reaching to another sun! Yet in his soul faith still surges like a song. Alone he staggers to the defense of the Sacred Scrolls, crying upon an unanswering God. A crazy beggar woman answers the call. . . . At last he realizes that it is only the spiritually dying or dead who adhere to the crumbling faith. A wooden Leon, flipped by the dramatist's thumb, rushes to his defense as he falls, having realized his ideal of beauty in the heroic soul of his grandfather.

In reading this play one becomes conscious of the Jewish race as a whole, instead of as scattered groups, East-siders and petty traders incidental to our great cities. We feel the pressure of a vast stream that, whether it may flow over or about us, is in some way searching and cleansing.

The protagonist in *The Dumb Messiah*, a three-act sym-bolical drama, is another study of the frustrated ego. Penini, a Court physician of Illyria, has had his tongue cut out by his Christian over-lords. Yet he conceives the idea of using his daughter as his "tongue" to lead his people to Zion—a people no longer desirous of their dream-city. For the innate home-love of the Jews, like a torn-up vine, has struck roots where it fell.

The Last Jew left God discarded by the dead body of his lone disciple. Here it is the national aspiration of a people that has passed—so slowly that they, all unknowing, have been carrying it like a corpse, smiling and upright.

The action takes place in the thirteenth century, during the expulsion of the Jews from Illyria. But its theme is of peculiar interest just now, when the hope of a national existence is again dangled before Jewish eyes. Not now through the inspired voice of a Messiah, but by the pointing finger of a great political power, who generally looks for some tangible result for her favors. This drama has all the material for a great play, but it is not greatly expressed. Like his three protagonists, Pinski gives one a sense of baffled power. The maimed prophet, dashing himself into the sea after his broken dream, is the pathetic and futile figure that Pinski probably intended him to be. But he might have left him the dignity of silence. I have considered these plays only as literature, but if *The Dumb Messiah* were acted here, Penini's grotesque efforts to articulate would reduce an American audience to hysteria.

The drama is over-laden with lamentation. The oriental love of color without a proportionate sense of its values is here emotionally expressed. Spiritually, Pinski wraps his burdened people in garish purple cloths. The curious poverty of language in all three dramas, may be due to the limitations of Yiddish as well as to a loss in transit.

L. R.

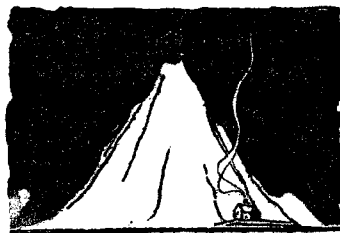
Contributors

SIDNEY WEBB—A noted English economist, author and editor. Principal founder of the London School of Economics and Political Science.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL EDOUARD RÉQUIN—A representative of the French General Staff now in this country.

ELIZABETH SHEPLEY SERGEANT—A graduate of Bryn Mawr College and author of *French Perspectives*. Her present article is one of a series she is contributing to the *New Republic*.

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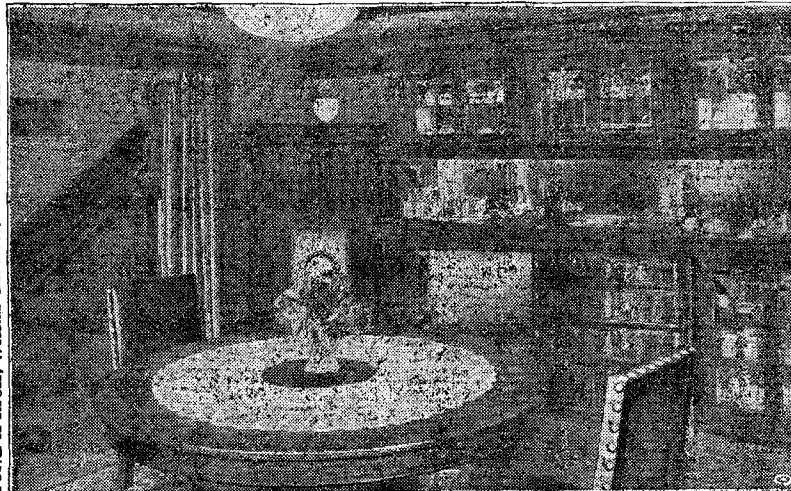
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